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SACRIFICE OR SACRAMENT?

WHICH IS THE TEACHING OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION OFFICE?

BY THE

RIGHT REV. E. A. KNOX, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

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FOREWORD

THE object of these pages is to show the nature of the crisis which lies before our Church in deciding upon the Vestment controversy. Nothing can be more unfair to the Church than that her leaders should represent the question at issue as unimportant, a mere question of clothes and decorations. Vestments mean the Mass, and the Mass means the whole system of Roman theology; and not only of Roman theology, but also, as John Henry Newman and others have found, the system of Roman statecraft bound up with it. The Lutheran position has not, and never has had, any attraction for Englishmen. Wittenberg is no half-way house for pilgrims between Canterbury and Rome.

It is not, of course, denied that there have been, and still are, loyal Anglicans who have held the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, without any Romeward leanings. But their doctrinal system as against Rome is built up on old-fashioned Biblical exegesis. The older men still hold fast to the position so reached, accepting the general results of Higher

Criticism without consciousness of the extent to which acceptance of that criticism has weakened the logical strength of the "Anglican or Catholic" defence as against Rome. A younger generation is attracted by the apparent security of Rome, is dismayed by the lengths to which Modernism has gone, and finds no logical half-way house between unbelief and unquestioning acceptance of the authority of the Church—that is, the Roman Church. It takes for granted that the revival of Roman or semi-Roman observances, to which for more than a generation High Churchmen have sometimes lent their authority, sometimes their connivance, had for its object preparation of the way for reunion with Rome. But observances are nothing without the faith which they symbolise. If the Articles and Prayer Book honestly admit of semi-Roman interpretation, why should they not admit of a still more Catholic—that is, a Roman—construction? If we have altars, why not say the Mass at them, instead of the exceedingly unsuitable office provided in the Prayer Book?

At this crisis the rulers of our Church are entrusted by the nation with a commission to make the meaning of our Prayer Book rubrics more clear. Hitherto they have only debated, and their debates so far have been in the direction of sanctioning the

use of Mass vestments, and of reservation of the Sacrament, with an ill-founded confidence that the use of this reservation will not be for purposes of adoration. They are followed, at present, implicitly with touching loyalty by the great mass of moderate clergy, who have no sort of Romeward aspirations, but are very sensitive to the attacks of Rome, and anxious to make good their Catholic position. But on what foundation does Anglican Sacerdotalism rest? If it is not made to rest on the Old Testament, there is very scanty foundation for it in the New. If the Prophets were truer exponents of Jehovah worship than the Priests, why should sacrificial priesthood reassert itself in the Church of Christ? To rest on the Fathers is to rest on those who knew nothing of critical research, nor is it easy to make ordinary folk understand why some statements of the Fathers are more to be credited than others, unless we accept Holy Scripture as the touchstone of truth. Rome solves the difficulty by forcing itself to believe in Papal Infallibility with the same violent disregard of facts with which it once held fast to the Ptolemaic astronomy. For us as Anglicans this solution is impossible. Why should our Church at this crisis adopt the sacrificial teaching of which our Prayer Book has been purged, and commit itself through

misconstruction of the Ornaments Rubric to a legalism and ceremonialism which the best interpretation of the Old Testament shows to have been injurious even to Judaism?

The author ventures to submit to his more learned brethren and to the public that a most grave wrong will be done to the Church of England by importing through ornaments into the Prayer Book doctrines which are contrary to its prayers—doctrines which may prove burthensome to the Church in more ways than one. For this purpose this book has been written. May God grant that whatever is true and sound in it may find a hearing before it is too late.

The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. A. I. Ellis of the British Museum for assistance in translations from the German and in revision of proofs.

E. A. MANCHESTER.

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SACRIFICE OR SACRAMENT?

CHAPTER I

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MASS

An Ordination Candidate in recent years, being invited by the Bishop to express in his own words his belief about the Sacrament of the Holy Communion, expounded it in terms such as are commonly used in Ritualistic manuals. Being further asked, "What in that case was his real opinion of the Communion Office of the Church of England?" he had the frankness to reply that he thought it "simply deplorable." The interview naturally was not much prolonged. But what that young man said is written large for those who have eyes to read in most current Ritualistic manuals and treatises upon the Eucharist. Great pains are taken to show that fragments of the Mass have been preserved, a collect here, a prayer there, but all in such confusion and dismemberment as to conceal, instead of proclaiming, the real purpose of the rite, "the offering or presenting, by and through the consecrated elements, of a sacrifice to God." Now any one who really considers what a solemn act the offering of a sacrifice is, and further considers what is the sacrifice that is offered or presented through the

consecrated elements, "the Body and Blood of Christ the Son of God," can hardly fail to agree with the would-be ordinand that the construction of the Office is simply deplorable. The object of this work is to show from documentary evidence the exact relation of the Communion Office of the Church of England to the Mass, in the hope that candid inquirers, especially among the younger clergy of our Church, may prefer the study of first-hand evidence to that of manuals, and at least do their own Church the justice of believing that in her principal service she sincerely desires to proclaim and not conceal her real faith.

Now, according to Liguori, who may be regarded as a standard authority on the doctrine of the Roman Mass, the most accepted of four possible theories is that the essence of the Eucharist consists "partly in the consecration, partly in the priest's consuming: the consecration placing the victim on the altar, and the priest's eating and drinking consuming it: for a true and real sacrifice requires a true and real destruction of the thing offered, but this does not take place except by the priest's eating and drinking, by which the sacramental essence of Christ is destroyed."[1] In fact, a sacrifice is not completed without a true and real destruction. For the sacrifice to be effected on the altar, it is necessary that first the victim be placed upon it in its integrity, and then that it be destroyed.

[1] Liguori, *Theologia Moralis*, vi. 305, Monvetiæ (1828). In this passage of Liguori "essentia" appears to be equivalent with "presence."

Now here is a very plain and explicit doctrine of sacrifice. It is also carried out by the Church of Rome with perfect consistency and perfect openness. Thus, in ordaining priests, the Bishop prays:

"Bless and sanctify, O Lord, these hands of Thy priests for consecrating the $\frac{\text{host}}{\text{victims}}$ which are offered for the sins and negligences of the people."

And again:

"Receive authority to sacrifice to God, and to celebrate the Mass as well for the living as for the dead."

There can be no doubt that the priest so ordained is ordained for the purpose of offering sacrifice for sin. In accordance with this theory, the priest is arrayed in sacerdotal garments for the purpose of offering the sacrifice.

Much wasted ingenuity has been bestowed upon unearthing the history of the evolution of priestly vestments. This is a question of pure archæology, and might be passed over in entire silence, were it not that behind the inquiry lies the suggestion that if a cope was originally a waterproof, and a chasuble originally a great-coat, there can be no special harm in reintroducing them, and that no special significance need be attached to the revival of priestly vestments. To this suggestion Father Braun, the greatest living authority on the history of vestments, very forcibly replies:[1]

"This is a point specially to be emphasized. We

[1] "Die liturgische Gewandung in der englischen Staatskirche," Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, *Jahrgang* 1910. Hft. 7, pp. 139, 140.

should not on any account leave out of sight the historical connection between the dogma of the Eucharist and the Mass on the one hand, and the development of liturgical vestments on the other. Neither the administration of Baptism or of any of the other Sacraments, nor the celebration of choral prayer, nor the recital of ecclesiastical benedictions led to the institution and evolution of the sacred dress of Catholicism. What was at all times and in all relations of chief importance for its use and progress was the Mass, the bloodless renewal of the Sacrifice of the Cross, the focus-point of all liturgical services, the highest mystery of the Christian religion. 'Take the Planeta' (Chasuble), says a Pontifical of Séez of the year 1045, in the service of the consecration of the priest, "that thou mayest in due manner celebrate the Mass"'."

And again:[1]

"The return to the external forms of the worship of the Catholic past, as it is being accomplished in England, is a noteworthy force that tells in favour of the forms of worship of the Catholic Church, for it is a confession that the true path was abandoned when customs inherited from the past and sprung from Catholic soil were recklessly given up in exchange for what was new. . . . One may attach to the return to the old external forms of worship a slender hope that at last these will form a bridge for the reintroduction of the doctrines of Catholicism, and for the return to and union with that

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

Church out of which the Church of England once came, from which she received Christianity and Christian culture, the Church of the Apostle of England, Gregory the Great. Already within the Anglican Church there are many who dissent from Rome only in the principle of the supremacy of the Pope."

This digression from the doctrine of the Mass may be pardoned on account of the attempt very freely made in England to belittle the true importance of the vestiarian controversy. Those who are watching us from without are often better judges than ourselves of the goal to which our actions are leading us, often against our own will.

To return to the Mass. The whole doctrine of sacrifice through the consecrated elements is as clearly brought out in the structure of that service, and in the words of the prayers, as it is concealed in the English office.

The various portions may be thus distinguished.

(1) An Introduction or Mass of the Catechumens, which ended with the Gospel or Creed. There runs throughout this Introduction the idea of the approach to God's altar: there is a Confession of sin and an Absolution, the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, and from about the eleventh century the Confession of faith. It ends with the words:— "The Priests of the Lord offer incense and bread to God: therefore they shall be holy to God and shall not pollute His Name."

(2) Then follows the Offertory, not the offering

of alms, but of the Bread and Wine—of the Bread with the words:

"Receive, O Holy Father, Eternal God, this pure Victim, which I, Thine unworthy servant, offer to Thee, My God, the living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all bye-standers, and also for all faithful Christians, living and dead: that it may profit me and them unto eternal life. Amen."

The offering of the Wine with the words:

"We offer to Thee, O Lord, the cup of salvation, beseeching Thy mercy: that before Thy Divine Majesty it may go up with sweet savours for our salvation, and the salvation of the whole world. Amen."

(3) Omitting several prayers all full of the idea of offering sacrifice, and followed by the words "It is meet, right, and wholesome that we should at all times and all places," &c., with the Preface and "Holy, Holy, Holy" . . . ending "Blessed is He Who cometh in the Name of the Lord, Hosanna in the Highest"—we reach at last *The Canon of the Mass.*

"We therefore humbly beseech and pray Thee, most merciful Father, by Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to receive and bless these gifts, these offerings, these pure and holy sacrifices which we offer to Thee first of all for Thy Holy Catholic Church," &c.

Then immediately, without any Amen, follow prayers for the living and a commemoration of Saints and Martyrs, and then the following:—

"Which offering, blessed, dedicated, assured, reasonable and acceptable, we beseech Thee to

make the Body and Blood of Thy dearly Beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ." After which come the words of the Divine Institution, followed by prayers all in the same tenor, repeating again and again, and harping upon the theme of Sacrifice, and followed by a prayer for the dead.

(4) There follows after many more prayers the Communion of the priest and of the people if there are any to be communicated within the Mass, in which case there is to be at this point a confession and absolution.

The foregoing summary is not intended to give a complete description of the Mass as it is said in Roman churches. It is intended only to show that whatever idea an intelligent worshipper might take away from the Mass, he could not fail to take away the clear and indelible impression that he had assisted at a sacrifice offered by a priest through the consecrated elements of Bread and Wine. All the prayers, all the ceremonies, reach their completion and fulfilment in this one conception. The fact of his Communion would be but an accident—a desirable accident perhaps in theory, but seldom realised. His presence, his prayers, his devotions would undoubtedly all go up with the sacrifice, and be assisted thereby. But the fact of his Communion would add nothing to the completeness of the service. His presence even, however desirable for his own sake, would not be in any way indispensable. To call the service a Communion Service would be an absolute misnomer. No one who has the Liturgy

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of the Mass before him could mistake it for a Communion Office.

It is important to emphasize this fact once more, because many manuals and books about the Prayer Book entirely mislead the student. This point will be made clearer as we proceed, but it cannot be too often repeated. The instruction given to many ordinands is as though a guide taking visitors through a Presbyterian church, pointing to stones built in here and there from some adjacent ruined cathedral, were to endeavour to leave on the minds of the visitors the impression that the modern building was in fact the ancient cathedral. Displaced and rearranged fragments of the Mass do not constitute the Mass. The Mass requires, writ large all over it—without the help of hymns, secret prayers, genuflections, or other accompaniments—the presentation of a sacrifice, the most awful that man has dared to conceive, offered to God by a sacrificing priest through the consecrated elements. This idea has not to be read into the Mass. It is there, so plainly, that he who runs may read.

It would be difficult to find a more striking instance of the kind of special pleading here referred to than that which is contained in the letter of Archbishops Temple and Maclagan to Pope Leo XIII on Anglican Orders.[1] In support of the contention that we in the Church of England teach the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the two Prelates say :

[1] *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII on English Ordinations.* London, 1897, p. 18.

" We think it sufficient in the Liturgy which we use in celebrating the Holy Eucharist—while lifting up our hearts to the Lord, and when now consecrating the gifts already offered that they may become to us the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ—to signify the sacrifice which is offered at that point of the service in such terms as these. 'We continue a perpetual memory of the precious death of Christ who is our Advocate with the Father and the propitiation for our sins, according to His precept, until His coming again.' For first we offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: then next we plead and represent before the Father the sacrifice of the Cross, and by it we confidently entreat remission of sins and all other benefits of the Lord's Passion for all the whole Church; and lastly we offer the sacrifice of ourselves to the Creator of all things which we have already signified by the oblation of His creatures. This whole action, in which the people has necessarily to take its part with the priest, we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice."

Now throughout this passage the desired result is obtained by constructions put on words which undoubtedly admit of a very different interpretation. This is the very point to which attention is here drawn. The Roman language admits of no ambiguity—the Anglican language, if it is meant to be sacrificial, is highly ambiguous.

Thus "the gifts already offered" is a reference to the Prayer for the Church Militant, where the Rubric

orders the "alms to be *humbly presented* and placed on the Table," but the bread and wine to be merely *placed* on the Table. The word "oblations" in the prayer does not refer to the bread and wine (see p. 67).

Again, "that they may become to us the Body and Blood of Christ" are words used in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, and deliberately omitted in all three subsequent recensions. They are not words that our Church uses in her service.

Again, "we continue a perpetual memory, &c. . . . His coming again"—are words which any Zwinglian could use with a clear conscience.

Once more, all that follows from "For first we offer" to "oblations of His creatures"—is taken from an alternative prayer which no Anglican priest is bound to offer at any time during the whole course of his ministry. Even here the all-important words, "we plead and represent before the Father the sacrifice of the Cross," stand for words contained in that prayer in the First Prayer Book, but deliberately omitted in all subsequent recensions. Our Church does not use them, but has rejected them. The favourite ambiguity is practised of treating the phrase "we plead by the Sacrifice" as equivalent to "we plead the Sacrifice." No one pretends that the Litany is a sacrificial service. Yet in it we plead "by the Cross and Passion" of the Lord. Step by step the whole doctrine of Sacrifice through the consecrated elements is built up on this one ambiguity. First, "We plead by" the Sacrifice of

Christ—this is universally admitted: then "we plead the Sacrifice" with a suggestion that the uplifting of the consecrated elements is this pleading of the Sacrifice, so that the uplifting becomes a sacrificial act. But this uplifting or elevation is not Anglican. So follows "We present"—Whom? "Christ Himself present in the elements"—and finally we "re-present before the Father the Sacrifice of the Cross"—and so offer a sacrifice as do the Roman Catholics. This ambiguity of the word "plead," not used in our Communion Office, is used to prove a doctrine which, if true, should be explicitly stated. But the two first terms are not equivalent. "We plead by" when "we invoke the memory of": "we plead" an object by presenting or producing the object.

Lastly, "we are accustomed to call the Eucharistic sacrifice" is a phrase no doubt true of many manuals, but it certainly is not to be found in the Prayer Book.

There can be no question that a Church which really teaches the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice ought to present its teaching in a more satisfactory form than this. For it is not as though concealment were characteristic of the Anglican Church. "Openness" and "the desire to be plain and explicit" are the very key-note of its Prayer Book. Nowhere should they be more conspicuous than in its Communion Office. If we profess to teach the doctrine alleged, our office may very truly be described as "simply deplorable."

NOTES ON THE TERMINOLOGY EMPLOYED IN THIS BOOK

For the convenience of readers not familiar with Prayer Book history, the various revisions of the Prayer Book will be described as follows throughout this book.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI, published and ordered for use A.D. 1549, will be called *The First Prayer Book.*

The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, A.D. 1552, will be called *The Second Prayer Book.*

The Prayer Book of Elizabeth, A.D. 1559, will be called *The Third Prayer Book.*

The Prayer Book of 1662, as revised on the Restoration of Charles II, and now in use, will be called *Our Prayer Book.*

Two important Acts of Uniformity must be borne in mind:

(*a*) The Act of Elizabeth 1559, which enforced the Third Prayer Book (p. 201), and

(*b*) The Act of Charles II, 1662, which made the Act of Elizabeth part of Our Prayer Book.

It is also important to bear in mind that the so-called "Ornaments Rubric" (p. 198) is taken from the 25th section of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity.[1] It begins with the words "Provided that," and is often called *The Proviso.*

The Advertisements (p. 200) are Orders made in 1564, requiring the use of the cope in cathedrals, and of the surplice and hood in Parish Churches, in the ministration of the Holy Communion.

[1] P. 209.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI

THE primary object of all services, and especially of the Communion Service, as was pointed out in the last chapter, should be to convey to those who use it the teaching of the Church upon the object for which worshippers have assembled. Though a Liturgy does not furnish precise dogmatic statements, yet the faith of the Church should be reflected in the prayers of the Church, the prayers should embody the highest aspirations of the worshippers.

From this point of view, the Communion Office of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI is of absorbing interest in relation to modern thought. For it mediates between the ideas of Sacrifice and Sacrament by combining both. It joins two services together, however, without fusing them. It is not one service but two, of which one is not to be used without the other. There are two sets of worshippers—non-communicants without the choir, communicants within or near the choir. There are two services : the traditional order of the Mass with doctrinal modifications, and an Order of Communion. The sacrifice which is offered is offered before, and

independently of, the act of Communion. It is indeed no longer a propitiatory sacrifice, it is not consummated by the priest's consumption of the elements; but it is a "memorial made before God with His holy gifts of bread and wine": bread and wine on which the Holy Spirit has been invoked, that they may be "to us" the Body and Blood of Christ. Opinions will differ as to those who are included in the words "to us"—whether they are the partakers only, or all present in the church. On this point the form of prayer leaves room for uncertainty. But the general teaching of the structure and prayers is quite clear. On the question of the vestments used, it will be necessary to enter into discussion more fully below. For the present, it is enough to note that they were not the vestments of ordinary services.

The history of the service is in entire accord with the view which is here taken of its structure. There is no question that the Reformers in England were influenced at this stage by Continental models.

The addition of the Communion to the Mass is a clearly marked feature of Luther's "Formula of Mass and Communion for Wittenberg." In this treatise he first provides for the Mass (see p. 125), and then he begins the next chapter by saying,[2] "Let this suffice for the Mass and the office of the minister or Bishop. Now we will speak of the form

[1] Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. ii. p. 80 (Leipsic, 1848).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

of communicating the people, for whose sake the Supper of the Lord was instituted and called by that name." On the same lines as Luther, the English Reformers began by adding to the Mass, which was to be said in Latin without any sort of change, an English Order of Communion; it was a temporary measure, and needs to be noticed only for its effect upon the First Prayer Book, viz. that of adding a Communion Office to a Mass.

When the English Office for the Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion appeared in 1549, it was not, as might have been expected, a mere replica of German models. The English Reformers fell back, not upon Luther, but upon the Gregorian Order and Canon of the Mass. Of this there can be little doubt if the two services are set side by side. (See Appendix I, p. 120.) Even so, the departure from the ordinary service of the Mass was in many externals revolutionary. For, on the sound principle that omission of rubrics carried with it omission of ceremonies and of the ornaments pertaining thereto, the new Order of Communion, as contrasted with the Mass then in use, abolished many ceremonial acts, yet all was effected by the simple adoption of an order of the Mass in which none of these directions appeared.

Above all, it abolished by implication throughout, and by express direction after consecration, all elevation of the elements from all the five points at which such elevation had become customary. Whether the elevation were intended as a presenta-

tion of gifts to God, or as inviting the adoration of the people, it was to be practised no more. In this respect there is a marked difference between the English office and the Lutheran.[1] For Luther had condemned the first oblation of the bread and wine, with all his customary vigour.[2] But elevation after the consecration he allowed, and even at one time defended. The English Reformers allowed the singing of the Offertory sentences and the preparation of the bread and wine, and setting it on the altar, but forbade all elevation after consecration.

On the other hand—

(1) In the *Introduction* down to the Offertory there is no departure from the Gregorian or Latin Mass except the use of the Collect for Purity, the omission of the Gradual, the recitation of the Creed, and the insertion of the Prayer for the King.

(2) The Gregorian Mass does not contain the Creed, nor provision for a sermon. The Creed came into use about the eleventh or twelfth century.[3] But the preaching of a sermon after the Gospel is said to have come down in unbroken continuity from the earliest days. The exhortations introduced at this point in the office of the First Prayer Book do not mark the beginning of the Communion Service, but the end of the Mass of the Catechumens. The Mass of the Faithful begins with the Offertory.

(3) The singing of the Offertory remains, and the setting of the elements on the altar. There is no

[1] Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. ii. p. 85.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 87, *n.* 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 28 (viii.).

prayer of oblation of the bread and wine, as indeed there is none in the Gregorian Liturgy.

(4) The Canon is followed accurately step by step except where doctrinal exigencies forbid. Such exigencies are

The Prayer of Oblation,
Prayer for the Pope,
Commemoration of the Virgin and Saints,
The Prayer of Consecration,
Prayer for the Departed,
The short Prayer after the Lord's Prayer.

Wherever it is possible the order is preserved: wherever it is possible the very words are preserved. It is not suggested, of course, that there was any desire to make light of the serious accretions of doctrine and ritual that had grown up in the development of the Mass; but there was a real desire to preserve continuity, and, as part of that continuity, to retain the offering of a sacrifice, though not of a propitiatory sacrifice.

But while the whole structure of the Gregorian Mass was retained, it was retained for purposes of Communion. Provision is made that on every Sunday the minister shall always have some to communicate with him: and on the week-days the priest was to forbear to celebrate the Communion except he had some to communicate with him.[1] In no respect was the transition from the Mass to the Sacrament more marked than at this point. There

[1] Rubrics, p. 139.

were to be no more solitary masses—propitiatory sacrifices offered by the priest alone on behalf of others. Once a week at least there was to be a Communion of the people, as well in cathedrals as in parish churches. But the exact shade of difference is best appreciated by contrasting the Holy Communion with Holy Baptism. For Baptism there had been in the Sarum Use a Preparation of the Font which was quite independent of any actual baptism. In the First Prayer Book this Preparation was wholly omitted. There was no need for any Rubric that any special part of the Baptismal Office was not to be used unless there were infants to be baptized. With the Holy Communion there was the difficulty very naturally felt of dropping the great service which had ever been associated with public worship on Sunday. In order to hold it communicants must be provided. But why? Because it still was to the Reformers more than a bare Communion: something more than a Sacrament. It still retained in their faith, and therefore in their worship, the character of a sabbatic sacrifice, without which the Sabbath devotions would be incomplete. The First Prayer Book of Edward VI makes no provision for a Sunday on which there is no Communion.

There remains the question of the Vestments to be worn at this service. When we remember that the Mass had been said in Latin, and was therefore unintelligible to the common people, it is evident that the alteration of the words of prayers would

not carry with them any decisive note of a change of doctrine. Much more would be conveyed by the discontinuance of the elevation of the Host, and of incense, and of genuflections. These conveyed doctrine by appeal to the eyes and not to the ears. The same is true of vestments. In dealing with a service which was, after all, to all ordinary worshippers *the* Sunday service, connected in all devout hearts with the holiest associations and the most fervent prayers, and in fact at the very heart of their religion, no wise Reformers would make changes lightly or carelessly. They would remember the popular love of gorgeous robes and costly ornaments. They would know how much local pride attached itself in the minds of parishioners to the special vestments of their own parish church. They would have some tenderness for devout priests who attached some symbolic meaning to each vestment that they put on. It was in the matter of vestments, if anywhere, that the work of Reformation should proceed with cautious conservatism.

What actually happened is best described in the words of Father Braun, whom I have already quoted. After reciting the various Ornaments Rubrics of the First Prayer Book, he goes on :— [1]

"The vestments which the Book of Common Prayer allows are the Surplice, Alb, Chasuble,

[1] "Die liturgische Gewandung in der englischen Staatskirche," Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, *Jahrgang*, 1910, Heft 7, pp. 141, 142.

Cope, Tunicle (Dalmatic). The Zingulum (girdle), Humerale, Maniple and Stole are not named, nor the pontifical vestments: the Mitre, Gloves, Dalmatic, Tunicella, Sandals and Caligæ. The reason for the rejection of the Zingulum lay probably in the fact that it was regarded as the symbol of chastity, and, sometimes, of celibacy, which the Reformation under Edward VI had abolished. With the Lutherans, too, in the Northern Kingdoms and in Germany, the liturgical Zingulum disappeared with celibacy. Maniple and Stole were, as we have said before, in all places put out of use by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, even in those places where the Chasuble and Alb were retained. That the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer were intended to set them aside is very clearly shown, at least as far as the Stole is concerned, by the third regulation, where we are told that there is provided, as ornament for the minister at burials and christenings, only the Surplice, quite contrary to the English mediæval custom, according to which the priest at these services wore the Stole. It cannot be said that the Stole and Maniple are included under vestment as understood parts of it;[1] for, in the first place, the Rubrics expressly

[1] There has been considerable discussion over the meaning of the word "vestment." In the later mediæval inventories it seems to be used in many different senses. Sometimes it denotes the Alb; sometimes the Chasuble with all its accessories, including the Alb, Girdle, and Humerale; sometimes a complete set of garments, a so-called Capella, with Dalmatic, therefore Tunicella and Pluviale (Cope) included.

name the Alb, although the Alb is sometimes in the inventories included under the term "vestment" as part of the Chasuble. Again—and this is decisive—the Stole and Maniple never formed part of the Cope. Therefore, if the word Cope (Kappa) means the Pluviale only—and there can be no doubt that it does—then by the word vestment, too, the Chasuble only, without the Stole or Maniple, is to be understood."

According to the same writer:—[1]

"At the base of the interpretation widely accepted in the later Middle Ages, of the Mass vestments as referring to the suffering Christ offering Himself on the Cross, lies undoubtedly the dogmatic view that the Priest stands in the place of Christ at the Altar, that Christ through the Priest as His substitute renews in bloodless wise the sacrifice of the Cross, that the Mass is indeed a true Offering and Sacrifice. Further we must emphasize the fact that the Stole, if not before the fourth century—that is a debatable question—at least at an early date, has the character of a badge of the diaconal and priestly order, and that after the eleventh century the Maniple is the badge of the subdiaconal. As insignia of the respective orders, however, they would be not merely badges and distinguishing marks, but would also be an expression of the Church's teaching in regard to these orders. And so it came about that even in the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, where the Chasuble, Alb, and other vest-

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

ments were retained, the Stole and Maniple were rejected."[1]

It may be helpful at this point to endeavour to present some kind of picture of the office, when performed by a single-handed Priest in an ordinary Parish Church, as far as we can form an idea of it from the Rubrics and other sources.

First of all, out of a chest in the church the Priest robes himself. He may put on the Chasuble to which he has been accustomed, but not the Stole. He may, if he prefers, put on a Cope with an Alb, vestments not used hitherto for the service of the Mass. In either case, before he puts on these vestments, he will first put on a Surplice, and the other robes over it.

He will stand before the Altar and begin the appointed office. But having been ordered by the Bishop to read the Epistle and Gospel, so that all may hear distinctly, not from the Altar steps, but from the Pulpit,[2] he will lay his Chasuble or Cope on the Altar, and going to the Pulpit, read the Epistle and Gospel in his surplice there. Probably from the Pulpit he will say "I believe in One God"—and the clerks will sing the Creed.

Next will follow the Sermon or Homily from the Pulpit, and the Exhortation to the Communicants—

[1] It is perhaps not without significance that in all the inventories preserved in Staley's *Hierurgia Anglicana*, vol. i., though countless copes and chasubles are noted, in only two cases are "stoles" mentioned, in St. Paul's Cathedral and in the church of Newland.

[2] The Pulpit in some cases may have been part of the rood-loft. Staley's *Hierurgia Anglicana*, i. p. 13, *n.*

and, if necessary, the further exhortation to non-communicants.

The people then proceed to offer—(where? I venture to suggest at God's Board, *see* p. 27)—all money and such other things as are wont to be offered,[1] the family whose turn it is to be at the charges of the Communion offering "the just valour and price of the holy loaf." While this offering goes on, the clerks sing, or the minister says, one or more of the offertory sentences.

After this the communicants are separated from the non-communicants. The latter remain in the church, and "occupy themselves with devout prayer, or godly silence and meditation." The communicants are assembled in or near the Chancel, men on one side and women on the other, before God's Board or the Lord's Table, on which the Houseling Cloths have been spread.

The Priest returns to the Altar, resumes his Chasuble or Cope, and, after putting wine and water into the Chalice or Cup, sets the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, and proceeds with the service to the end of the Prayer of Consecration, followed by the Lord's Prayer. After which he says—

> The Peace of the Lord be always with you.
> *Com.* And with thy spirit.

These words apparently conclude the Mass. Then follows the Communion Service, for which the Priest puts off his vestments and uses the Surplice only. It is possible, and, where the communicants

[1] For the use of the Curate, p. 139.

were outside the Chancel, even probable, that this service was conducted at the Lord's Table and not at the Altar, and that the ministrants, if the Table was lengthwise in the Chancel, stood on the North side to minister to the people and East of the Table, when it was set in the Nave.

The authority for these suppositions will be found in the note at the end of this Chapter. If they are at all correct, it will be seen that the removal of the Mass, the Altar, and the Vestments left us the Communion Service, the Holy Table, and the Surplice. These were in fact the ornaments of the minister in the ministration of Holy Communion by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI. The ministration retained its traditional ornaments for the minister, except that he wore no stole.

The general result of these statements is to confirm the view already advanced, that the First Prayer Book of Edward VI retained *a* Mass, adding to it a Communion Office, but not *the* Mass: *a* Mass, for which the better name was felt to be the Lord's Supper, in which there was no sort of idea that Christ through the Priest was renewing His own Sacrifice of the Cross; and yet the dignity of the robes, and the continuity of their teaching did set forth the pleading upon an Altar of a memorial sacrifice before God.

But while the Reformers were thus making a cautious advance, and trying to carry the religious sentiment of the nation with them, they were

confronted on this very question with a strong division of opinion. Luther himself had regarded the use of vestments as an open question. He permitted them to be used, but without pomp and luxury. "Neither dost thou please God if thou consecratest in vestments; nor displease Him if thou consecratest without vestments. Vestments commend us not to God."[1] The use of the Lutheran Churches was consequently far from uniform.

But behind this division of opinion there was the rising tide of the violent objection to all that savoured of "the mummery" of the Mass. It is common in histories of the Prayer Book to speak of this influence as foreign influence. But surely the English nature of the sixteenth century had in it then, as strongly as now, the anti-sacerdotal tendency, the earnest desire for simplicity, which, rightly or wrongly, it identifies with sincerity of worship. The spoliation of churches, the destruction and defacing of ornaments, would have been impossible for the strongest of governments—and Edward VI's was hardly a strong government—had there not been behind it the Puritanic passion which felt an ornate ritual to be a mockery of the Divine Majesty. It hardly needed the influence of Bucer or Peter Martyr to make the cautious reform of the First Prayer Book insecure. But at all events, for whatever it was worth, it was an honest book, and it gave effect to the doctrinal views of those who prepared it in a very careful and sincere fashion.

[1] Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. ii. p. 90.

Note on Chapter II

The instructions given in the First Prayer Book as to the position of the Priest during the Communion Service deserve perhaps more attention than they ordinarily receive in Manuals. Thus:

1. He begins the service "standing humbly before the Altar."

2. He begins the Gloria in Excelsis "standing at God's board."

3. Turning to the people, he says, "The Lord be with you."

4. He reads the Epistle "in a place assigned for the purpose."

5. The Sermon or Homily is delivered presumably from "the pulpit."

6. On offering days he receives (? where) his due and accustomed offerings, and "every Sunday at the time of the offering the just valour and price of the holy loaf, with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with these same."

7. He takes (? whence) the Bread and Wine and places them upon the Altar.

8. "Turning to the people" after the Ter Sanctus, he says, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church," and then, "turning to the Altar," he says the Prayer of Consecration.

9. "Turning to the people," he invites them to make their general Confession.

10. He "kneels" during the Confession.

11. He "turns to the people" to say the Absolution.

12. "Turning to God's Board" and "kneeling down," he says the Prayer of Humble Access.

13. He communicates himself and the people.

14. "Turning to the people," he says, "The Lord be with you," &c., and then gives thanks.

15. "Turning to the people," he dismisses them with the Blessing.

The people are either "in the Quire or in some convenient place nigh the Quire."

It is often assumed that through this service the Altar and God's Board are the same. Bishop Ridley's defence for substituting tables for altars was that in this Prayer Book the terms are used indifferently. Yet, he adds, that "as" the book "calleth it an altar whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered, a table, the Lord's Board, so it calleth the table where the holy Communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgivings unto the Lord an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" (Parker Society, Ridley, p. 322).[1]

Now these words distinctly imply two articles—one "whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered," and the other "where the holy Communion is distributed." These two existed in the Church of England before the Reformation. Thus Mr. Micklethwaite, in his paper on "Ornaments" (*Alcuin Club Tracts*, p. 41), writes as follows:

"'The Houseling Cloth.' A long linen cloth held by clerks in front of the communicants when receiving the Sacrament. In some cases it seems to have been long enough to reach all across the nave and aisles of the church. In a manner it took the place of the altar rail of modern times, though Communion was not necessarily given at an altar. The rail was not used at the date of our inquiry (*i.e.* the second year of King Edward VI); it was introduced early in the next century."

He adds also a footnote:

"I have found mention of these cloths as much as

[1] For Lord's Board as well as Altar see also p. 156.

twenty yards long. I select the following quotation for the sake of the Mensa Domini (God's Board or Lord's Table), which is evidently given not to the altar but to the bench or desk against which the communicants knelt, and upon which the houseling cloth was laid." "Unum manutergium continens undecim ulnas ecclesiæ meæ parochiali, ut possit servire ad mensam Domini in die Paschæ" (A towel of eleven ells [about fourteen yards] to my parish Church to serve for the Lord's Table on Easter day). So, too, Joan Goodenay, widow, in 1515, left to the Parish Church of Bromley in Kent, "a tuell to be forth comyng at Eastre when our blessed Lord is ministered to the parish."[1]

Taking, then, the cases in which the people were not "in the Quire," but "nigh to the Quire," we have apparently "God's Board" outside the Quire door, and the communicants kneeling at it to receive the Communion. In the Communion Service of the First Prayer Book, as distinct from the modified Mass that preceded it, "the altar" does not occur—only "God's Board." It seems to be not only possible but likely that the Communion proper was conducted precisely in the way indicated by Il Schifanoya. The Priest, after the Mass, divesting himself of his Mass robes (and ? laying them on the altar), says the Communion Service proper in his Cotta or Surplice. Thus the Surplice is in the First Prayer Book the ornament of the minister in the ministration of the Communion. In this connection Mr. Micklethwaite's words are important: "Communion was not necessarily given at an altar."

For laying Mass vestments on an altar I have only a

[1] I am informed that it is still the custom in the Scotch Kirk, to cover the desks throughout the kirk with white cloths on Sacrament Sunday. Are these a survival of Houseling Cloths?

much later Lutheran parallel to cite, but it appears to be worth citing. Gerbern in his *History of Church Ceremonies in Saxony*, says:[1]

"I have seen in many places that the Preacher has to put on the white robe and the Mass vestment immediately before the beginning of Divine service. When then he has read the Gospel before the altar, he has drawn the Mass vestment over his head, and spread it on the altar. Then when the Creed has been sung, he has gone into the chancel, and after the sermon in front of the altar has taken up the Mass vestment, and put it on again."

The writer is informed that this divesting of the Priest and laying the Mass robes on the altar has occurred in modern Ritualistic churches in England.

Quotations follow taken from two foreigners, one writing in the year 1551, Daniele Barbaro, and the other, Il Schifanoya, in 1559. Attempts are very naturally made to discredit their evidence. For instance, Barbaro is supposed to have misunderstood the mixing of the wine with water, the ceremonial mixing before consecration. But it is the fact that in the First Prayer Book there are no directions for consecrating a fresh supply of bread or wine, and it is quite as likely that Barbaro was right, as that his modern critics are. His reference to sacerdotal vestments is to the Ordinal, and does not disprove his statement about the Communion.

I.—Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti. Daniele Barbaro, 1551 A.D. Serie I, Vol. II. Firenze, 1840.

(*a*) "Quando fanno la comunione, li preti si vestono con le cotte, mandano fuor del coro chi non si comunica, prendono tanto pane e vino quanto può bastare; e se il vino non basta gli mescolano alquanto di acqua pura. Il

[1] Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. ii. p. 91.

pane è più grosso di quello che si usa qui, ed è di forma rotonda, senza immagini. La confessione si fa generale dopo lunghissime parole."

" When they make the Communion, the priests dress themselves with the surplice, they send out of the choir those who do not communicate, they take as much bread and wine as shall suffice ; and if there is not enough wine they mix with it some pure water. The piece of bread is thicker than that which is used here, and is of a round shape, without figures. A general confession is made after very long exhortations."

(*b*) " Queste ed altre simili cose sono state fatte ed ordinate l'anno 48 ; ma poi del 49 fu per autorità regia mandato in luce un altro libro confermato nel parlamento che contiene la forma di dare gli ordini sacri ; nè dai nostri ai loro ci è differenza, se non che ivi danno sacramento di rinunziare alla dottrina ed autorità del pontefice. Leggono alcune lezioni, e danno a chi prende gli ordini i libri della Scrittura, can autorità di ministro. Usano le vesti sacerdotali ; e però hanno condannato ultimamente il vescovo Uper, il quale non consente nè al sacramento nè agli abiti, dicendo che sono cerimonie del testamento vecchio, e servitù ebraica, e idolatria, e così mettono fine alle cerimonie."

" These and other similar things were done and commanded in the year 48 ; afterwards, however, in 49, another book, confirmed in Parliament, was published by Royal authority, which contains the form for conferring holy orders ; nor do theirs differ from ours, except that here they make an oath to renounce the doctrine and authority of the Pope. They read some lessons and give the books of the Scriptures to him who takes the orders, with authority to minister. They use sacerdotal vestments ; and therefore they lately condemned Bishop Hooper, who does not consent either to

the oath or to the garments, saying that they are ceremonies of the Old Testament, and Hebrew bondage, and idolatry, and thus they end the ceremonies" (? of Ordination).

II.—Venetian State Papers. London, March 28, 1559. Il Schifanoya to Otto Vivaldino, Mantuan ambassador to King Philip of Brussels.

" During the interval they had ordered and printed a proclamation for everyone to take the Communion in both kinds (' sub utraque specie '). Some other reforms of theirs had also been ordered for publication, but subsequently nothing else was done, except that on Easter Day Her Majesty appeared in chapel, where Mass was sung in English according to the use of her brother King Edward, and the Communion was received in both kinds (' sub utraque specie ') kneeling, ' facendoli il sacerdote la credenza del corpo e sangue prima,' nor did he wear anything but the mere surplice (' la semplice cotta '), having divested himself of the vestments (' li paramenti ') in which he had sung the Mass."

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI

THERE is a saying in the Book of Ecclesiasticus which should be noted by all students of the Reformation movement, and by some who wonder at the success of the present day counter-Reformation. It seems to have been a Pharisaic interpolation into that Sadducean treatise.[1] It grew in fact out of a bitter religious controversy that has many affinities with the anti-Roman conflict. The words attributed to Ben-Sira, though probably not his, are: "Better is it to serve one living Master, than with dead heart to cling to dead things." Many details of the Reformation battle are superficially a war about insignificant trifles. But the impetus which animated the whole movement was not born of sordid and arid controversies. It was the cry of living souls after the living God, and in no other terms can it be understood. The Renaissance, pagan to the core, had flooded as with search-lights the gross ignorance, the empty hypocrisies, and debasing sensualities which had been disgracing religion in high places. There was too little power

[1] *Cf.* Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. i. p. 284 (Oxford, 1913).

of faith or prayer behind the gorgeous shrines which consumed the wealth of nations. It needed no Henry VIII to spoil the monasteries. The new learning by itself would have absorbed them before long. But the new learning was predominantly heathen. Were "God and His Saints dead" as they had been in the days of King Stephen?

Then it was that the translation of the Bible awoke a new consciousness and inspired a new hope in the hearts of the people. Each in their own mother tongue, the nations began to hear the voice of the living God, and hearing it they were filled with a sense of His nearness that made all the old objects of devotion repulsive to them. "Better is it," they cried, "to serve one living Master, than with dead hearts to cling to dead things."

Now at the centre of the old religious order was the Mass, or rather there were the Masses as well as the Mass. There was the all-pervading idea that the Priest as Christ's Vicegerent alone had the power of performing the great miracle which was essential to salvation. All was done by him for the people in an unknown tongue: practically, he stood between them and the living God. His mediation was derogatory to the office of the living Mediator. His dead things woke no response in the hearts of the people—his incense, his genuflections, his elevations, all left their hearts cold. They longed for the simplicity of the bare upper chamber. They longed to receive the bread of life from the hands of the one Master.

It was this spirit which reflected itself in the Second Prayer Book. We have seen what great changes the First Prayer Book introduced; but, though it was a revolution, it was, like most English revolutions, highly conservative. It retained the prominence of the idea of sacrifice, in its structure, in some of its prayers, in the word "altar," and in the vestments of the celebrating priests. The Priest still might seem to interpose himself between the Saviour and the sinner. It is to this spirit that we must look, if we would understand the Communion Office of the Second Prayer Book. It is the same spirit, surely worthy of more respect than it frequently receives, which lies behind the objection of many devout souls to modern enrichments, as they are called, of the Communion Service. There are souls which are impoverished by these enrichments.

In any case it is an entire misrepresentation—and, historically a misrepresentation of a very serious character—to suggest that the Communion Office of the Second Prayer Book was, or was intended to be, in any sense a Mass. The question is not a question of names. We are in face of the greatest revolution in Church History. For it is agreed on all hands that, so far back as we can trace the practice of the Church, the meeting on the first day of the week "to break bread" according to Christ's ordinance had been observed with unbroken continuity. The First Prayer Book contemplated no interruption of this practice. Though it forbade the solitary Mass of the Priest, it enjoined, and

took steps to secure, the weekly "Supper of the Lord." It attempted at all events to provide communicants every week in every parish, so that the weekly celebration might be continued. The Second Prayer Book forbade any celebration unless there were "a good number to communicate with the Priest according to his discretion."[1] It also limited that discretion by fixing for the smallest parishes a minimum of three-twentieths of the possible communicants. To make still more sure of this enactment, parishioners were required to notify their intention to communicate. The immediate effect of this provision was to make it possible that the service, which had never been intermitted on Sundays in any church in England, might be held not oftener than twice in the year, and in most parishes could no longer be held weekly. This provision was no fruit of irreverence or carelessness. It was a deliberate transition from one set of ideas to another. It was the substitution of the solemn Sacrament of the people for the weekly Sacrifice by the Priest on their behalf. Fragments indeed of the old service were preserved, but they were preserved with another intention and for another purpose. They were built up into a new office, and so arranged as to convey a new teaching.

It is not, of course, suggested that the English Reformers intended to depart from the command of our Lord. Their purpose was to fulfil it, and to renew in all its simple majesty the upper room and

[1] See p. 186.

the Last Supper. They wished to avoid all reproduction or re-presentation of the cross of Calvary. To them the one Sacrifice, once offered, could never in any form be repeated. It stood alone as an awful transaction—the Atonement by which God was reconciled to the sinner, and the sinner to God. But that remembrance of His Sacrifice which our Lord commanded to be made, they desired to make, and to use the signs which He instituted, not only as pledges of His love, but as the appointed means of receiving the benefits of His death. With this object in view the new service was constructed.

1. The first change was in the title of the service. In the First Prayer Book it was called "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass." By this title the combination of two services was plainly indicated. Without going so far as to make the Lord's Supper and the Mass interchangeable terms, as they seem to be in some Lutheran treatises, the First Prayer Book nevertheless retained the old name, at least as an alternative—an assurance to common people that the Mass was not wholly removed. But the Second Prayer Book takes as the title of the service "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion." A Sacrament may be administered, but who could speak of administering a Sacrifice?

2. The *Altar* has gone—only the Lord's Table remains; and for the purpose of Communion the Table—God's Board—may stand in the Nave as

well as in the Chancel; and the Priest stands not "before it," but "at the North side."

3. The whole service is intended for communicants. Non-communicants are warned that by refusing to communicate "they do great injury unto God," [1] "if they stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate"; "rather than do so, they are bidden to depart and give place to them that be godly disposed." There is no suggestion, still less a command, that they should remain outside the choir, "and there with devout prayer or meditation occupy themselves." [2] It is true that the first part of the service is to be used weekly whether there is a communion or not; but from the conclusion of that part, there is not a single prayer which does not contemplate participation. There is no longer the great intercessory prayer inextricably bound up with the acts of consecration and oblation. What remains of the old act of intercession is a prayer which has no more of the sacrificial character than the Prayer for All Sorts and Conditions of Men. It is so separated from oblation and consecration,[3] that it is to be used even when there is no Communion. It is in fact the Bidding Prayer before the sermon put into the shape of a form of prayer after the sermon and collection of alms.

[1] See p. 173.

[2] See rubric at end of Communion Office in the First Prayer Book, p. 140.

[3] In the Second Prayer Book there is no direction to place the elements on the Table.

4. Of the old Introduction to the Mass, sometimes called the Catechumen's Mass, there remained only the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel. For the Kyries interspersed between the Ten Commandments are not really the old Kyrie, nor are the Commandments a lesson from the Old Testament, but a compliance with the King's command that the Ten Commandments in English shall be read every Sunday. All the old notes of praise and thanksgiving are gone; the Introits disused, and the Sursum Corda and Gloria in Excelsis transferred. This preliminary service is penitential, instructive, hortatory. It has not a note of praise. The Commandments are to be "rehearsed"; the prayers and responses are to be "said"; no room is left for notes of praise before or after the Gospel. The Creed and the Offertory sentences are not to be sung by the clerks, but said by the Priest. It is also to be noted that the Offertory and Prayer for the Church Militant belong to this introductory service.

5. The Communion proper is introduced by two long Exhortations, which had no place in the old service, but which form the basis of all Reformed Services, as well as of the Lutheran.

6. The Consecration does not take place before, but after, the Invitation "to draw near to this holy Sacrament," after also the Confession and Absolution. The Sursum Corda and Sanctus become an act of praise for the assurance of the pardon of sin. In view of the use made by the Archbishops of this element of the Mass, it is very important to note

the omission of the words "Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." By this omission our thoughts are taken from the consecration which is to follow, and fixed on the assurance of pardon, which has preceded this great hymn of praise. The act of praise is followed by the Prayer of Humble Access said by the Priest "in the name of all them that shall receive the Communion." The Prayer of Consecration consists of three main parts: (1) the calling upon God who gave His only Son to be a full, perfect, and sufficient Sacrifice, at whose command we continue a perpetual memory of His death till His coming again; (2) a prayer that we receiving bread and wine may be partakers of His Body and Blood; (3) the recitation of the acts and words of Institution.[2] Again, the changes are all in one direction—a direction which points away from sacrifice. "Continue the memory" takes the place of "celebrate the memory"—and the change is more marked when we remember that the "continuance" is no longer in most parishes a weekly, or daily, but an occasional continuance. There is no hint that we are making any offering to God; no suggestion of any change that is to take place in the bread and wine: no elevation, no act of adoration—not even the prayer that they may be "to us the Body and Blood of Christ": the Priest

[1] Compare pp. 127 and 180.

[2] Note the omission of the words "He blessed" before the words "and brake it." This omission remains in Our Prayer Book, "When He had given thanks, He brake it."

remains standing throughout. In fact the analogy of the Baptismal Office helps us to understand exactly the Consecration Prayer of the Communion Office." In both is commemorated the sacrifice once made upon the cross: in both the command to continue the Sacrament; in both there is a prayer in regard of the elements: but in neither any hint that we are offering, presenting, or representing any sort of sacrifice to God. The Communion follows immediately after the consecration; the object of consecration is not adoration, but reception. Consistently with this we find that the Agnus Dei is no longer sung during the Communion, nor any of the sentences called the Post-Communion.

7. Perhaps the most significant change of all is the omission of the words: "With Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy dear Son." No doubt the Roman Catholics contend that the consecration of the bread and wine is effected by the sole repetition of our Lord's words. But we may be very confident that it was no desire to follow Roman Catholic models which prompted the omission in the Second Prayer Book of the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, for which the same Reformers had made room in the First Prayer Book. If that had been their intention, they would have retained the Roman prayer "that this oblation may become to us the

Body and Blood of Thy dear Son." Their desire, no doubt, was to express beyond all doubt their belief that the bread and wine remain in their very natural substances, and that the Body and Blood of Christ are received by communicants only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, and that through faithful participation. They desired to avoid any support to the idea that the power of the Priest availed in any way to effect any change in the nature of the elements. It was "Christ's word that effected the sacramental mutation whereby bread and wine become to the believer effectual representations of the Body and Blood of Christ, and channels whereby he receives the benefits of the Passion of the Lord, the spiritual food of His most precious Body and Blood."[1]

8. The only mention of sacrifice in the whole service, outside the one allusion to our Lord's finished sacrifice, is in one of the Post-Communion Prayers. Even this Prayer is an alternative Prayer. But what is most noteworthy is that, whereas it originally formed part of the Canon, and was so placed that the references to the consecration and oblation were not strained, but natural, and in fact necessary, it is now separated from the act of consecration. But this is not all. The whole communicating of the people intervenes, and, strictly speaking, the elements are consumed. Then at last follow the words, "We are unworthy to offer any sacrifice, yet we beseech Thee to accept this our

[1] Parker Society Series (*Ridley*), p. 275.

bounden duty and service," and they may be referred quite as naturally, or more naturally, to what follows than to what precedes, to the act of praise, the "Gloria in Excelsis"—the thanksgiving rather than the consecration. For the early Fathers did not meet the charge that the Christians had no sacrifice by reference to the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, but by reference to the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

Justin Martyr, A.D. 150, says that the only sacrifices offered by Christians and acceptable to God are prayers and thanksgivings; "for these are the only sacrifices that Christians have undertaken to do, in the remembrance made both by their food and drink, in their commemoration of the passion endured for their sake by the Son of God" (*Dial.* 117). And again: "We worship the Creator of the universe not with blood, libations, and incense (which we are sufficiently taught He has no need of), but we exalt Him to the best of our power with the reasonable service of prayer and thanksgiving in all the oblations that we render Him" (*Apol.* i. 13).

The most reasonable suggestion for the place assigned to the Gloria in Excelsis in the Prayer Book of 1552 is that the object of the transfer was to emphasize the act of spiritual sacrifice, the rendering of praise to God.

To sum up what has been a painful but a necessary analysis of a service of devotion, we find that it is a consistent service from first to last, and never varies from the one idea of the administration of a

Sacrament. Other ideas have been imported into it, or associated with it; but they are all extraneous to it. As a service for the offering of a sacrifice, it may justly be described as wholly unsatisfactory, and almost dishonest: since it conceals what it ought to teach. As a service for the administration of a Sacrament, whereby Christ has willed to impart to us the spiritual food of His most precious Body and Blood, it may well be called matchless.

Consistently with its structure was the vesting of the minister. According to Father Braun, from the thirteenth century onwards the Surplice was the appropriate vestment for the administration of all the Sacraments.[1] We have seen reason to believe that the Surplice was used for administering the Communion even under the First Prayer Book. About the Second there is no question. For this, as for all other services, the Priest or Deacon was to wear a Surplice only.

If we ask wherein lay the strength of this new movement, the answer must be that it was an appeal from the dead to the living Christ. Mediæval art and ecclesiastical ornamentation had presented to the worshipper the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, but above all and everywhere the Crucifix itself, as the incitement to devotion. The Altar repeated the same story. Christ was there sacrificed daily. The living in-

[1] Article on "Surplice" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. xxvi. p. 137.

tercessors were the Saints, the Blessed Virgin, the wonder-working images and relics—any one in fact but the Christ Himself. To all this the Reformation answered, "Christ is not dead, but living. He is in Heaven at the right hand of the Father. Yet is He not absent from us, but present in the midst of the faithful in all their common worship, so truly and so directly that no Priest nor Madonna may bring Him nearer." It was for the sake of this truth, and by its sustaining power, that the Reformers dared to confront the majesty of the visible Church, to break away from time-honoured traditions of public worship, to oppose simplicity to elaborate ceremonial, bareness to splendour, and the weakness of recent and divided interpretations of Scripture to the logical exactness of an unerring Church. But the Reformation was more than an answer to the Papacy. It was an answer also to the heathenism of the Renaissance. A world that had lost faith in the living God, which looked upon religion as a finely organised engine of statecraft, beheld with amazement a new spirit of devotion, a courage which shrank not from martyrdom, allying itself with zeal for learning, and with a sincere desire for the spread of education. The Reformation saved the new learning from becoming a revival of paganism.

CHAPTER IV

DID THE THIRD PRAYER BOOK RESTORE THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE?

NOTHING can be more clear than that the Second Prayer Book deliberately substituted for the Canon of the Mass and for Eucharistic Sacrifice a Service for the Administration of Holy Communion. The one Collect into which a sacrificial sense could be imported was a Collect which might be entirely omitted, and, if used at all, was to be used when the elements were already consumed. This point is so clear that no pains have been spared to suggest that the Third Prayer Book was intended to undo the the work at the point where the Second left it, and to restore the sacrificial teaching which had been so carefully eliminated.

Fortunately the proofs for this contention are few, and they are easily understood.

1. The so-called Black Rubric at the end of the Communion Office was not repeated. This is the Rubric which explains that kneeling betokens, not adoration, but a humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits received in the Holy Communion. The omission of this Rubric is open to various constructions, but since it forms no part of

the Communion Office, it does not affect our argument that the service itself should explicitly set forth the doctrine which the Church intends it to convey.

2. A far more important change was the combination of two forms for administering the Bread [1] and Wine, one taken from the First Prayer Book, and the other from the Second. It is suggested that the first part of the form which we now use is intended to teach that the Bread and Wine are not only the visible signs in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, but also that He is sacramentally present in the elements themselves. Whence it is further inferred that He is sacramentally present in the elements upon the Altar, and that we do there re-present to the Father the Sacrifice which He is eternally presenting in Heaven.[2] It

[1] P. 182.

[2] According to the memorial presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the advocates of this view some years ago—

"We believe that as in heaven Christ, our great High Priest, ever offers Himself before the Eternal Father, pleading by His Presence His Sacrifice of Himself once offered on the Cross: so on earth, in the Holy Eucharist, that same Body, once for all sacrificed for us, and that same Blood, once for all shed for us, sacramentally present, are offered and pleaded before the Father by the Priest, as our Lord ordained to be done in remembrance of Himself, when He instituted the Blessed Sacrament of His Body and His Blood."

The same view is more clearly expressed in *The Church and the World*, edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley.

"What the Christian priest does at the Altar is, as it were, the earthly form and visible expression of our Lord's continual action as High Priest in Heaven. As the most holy Body and Blood of Christ the alone victim to make our peace with God, are offered, that is continually presented and pleaded by Jesus Himself in Heaven, naturally

will be seen at once that all this teaching is not explicit, but inferential: also that the inference is more forced when we remember that there has been no oblation of the Bread and Wine, and no prayer that they may by the Holy Spirit be made to us the Body and Blood of Christ. Still more forced is the inference when we bear in mind how very simple it was to have expressed this doctrine far more explicitly at this very point. How much stronger would all this reasoning have been if, for instance, the revision had taken the form used in Lutheran Churches: "Take, eat, this is the Body, Which is given for thee"; "Take, drink, this is the Blood Which is shed for thee."[1] This formula must have been perfectly well known in England. It would have lent, or would have been said to lend, some kind of support to the basis on which the sacrificial theory is built up. The fact that it was not used, and that the form adopted did not really make any statement as to any change in the nature of the

as we may say, and openly, so the same most holy Body and Blood are continually presented and pleaded before God by Christ's representative, acting in His Name and by His commission and authority."

In this quotation it will be noticed that the writer seems to shrink in the second part from saying that Christ's Body and Blood are offered on earth—though in the first part "presented and pleaded" are synonymous with "offered." The Eucharist is essentially from this point of view a Sacrifice offered by a Priest, a representative of Christ, doing on earth what He does in Heaven.

[1] It should be noted in passing that even the Reformed Churches did not shrink from using the formula "This is the Body of Jesus Christ"—holding, of course, the view that no sort of change in the elements, nor presence of our Lord in the elements, was implied by the use of our Lord's own formula.

elements, renders it impossible to draw any secure inference therefrom.

2. We are left therefore to find the reversion to sacrificial teaching in the action taken with reference to the ornaments of the minister. About these, two mutually inconsistent statements are made. On the one hand, value is attached to these ornaments as implying "continuity of teaching." On the other, we are told that no special sacrificial meaning attaches to them. These two statements are inconsistent. In like manner, with equal inconsistency, we are told that inquiry as to the ornaments of the Third Prayer Book is a matter of purely antiquarian interest, and of no practical value. At the same time the strongest efforts are made by those who hold sacrificial doctrine to reintroduce these ornaments. A plea is here entered for frank and straightforward dealing with Churchmen. If our Church teaches Eucharistic Sacrifice, let it be proved from her services. If the vestments convey that teaching, let it be honestly admitted that it is for that reason that we wish to introduce them—to make explicit what is certainly not as explicit as it might be in the prayers and ceremonies prescribed by our Liturgy. Nothing can be less fair than to prove the doctrine from the vestments, and at the same time to refuse to consider whether the vestments are or are not prescribed for use by our Church with a doctrinal intent.

In a controversy which has been so often renewed, it may be useful to deal first of all with absolutely admitted facts. It is possible that these may ex-

plain the disputed legislation—at all events clearly enough for our main purpose.

1. We have seen that the Chasuble and Stole are the important sacrificial garments: also that the Stole, which is the more important, was not, in the view of a high authority, part of the ornaments of the minister even under the First Prayer Book. It is further admitted that no instance can be found of the use of the Chasuble under the Third Prayer Book. Whether its disappearance was legal or not, we will not here inquire. But it disappeared. There disappeared also the Rubric before the Communion Office in the First Prayer Book which made the Chasuble an alternative vestment for Holy Communion. Further, the Chasubles themselves were destroyed or converted to other uses. It is obvious that if the purpose of the Rubric about ornaments was to restore sacrificial doctrine, the purpose of those who wished to restore it was not fulfilled. Something hindered. It is possible to argue that the hindrance was illegal, and to explain it by the lawlessness of the times. But it is also possible that the hindrance was perfectly legal, and that there never was any intention to restore the Chasuble or the Stole. This point will be argued in another place. Of the fact itself there is no doubt. No English Churchman can prove that sacrificial vestments were used in the Church of England for at least 300 years. This gap in continuity can hardly be made good, one would imagine, by the modern revival of vestments.

2. It is admitted that Copes were worn, but by

no means universally worn. For the present we note the fact without attempting to square it with the then existing laws.

3. Surplices were worn in the administration of Holy Communion, but even these apparently were not always worn. "Some with Surplice and Copes, some with Surplice only, some with none,"[1] appears to be the report sent in by the Bishop of London as to the practice of his diocese.

These are the unquestioned facts. There was no uniformity, in spite of the Act of Uniformity, but great confusion. How is this confusion to be explained?

The ordinary explanation is to dwell on the lawlessness of the times. But it is not a very satisfactory explanation. That the Queen could act strongly is proved by the very decided action taken in the matter of substituting tables for stone altars. The stone altars practically disappeared. She was not inactive. Her Commissioners were at work in all parts of the country. The entire disappearance of Chasubles, except from some few inventories, suggests that strong action could be taken when the Government chose to take it. Much is said of the Queen's vacillation and irresolution, but her language implies that the fault lay rather with the Bishops, and that she expected them to enforce uniformity.

A very simple and consistent explanation of the

[1] In Dixon's *Church History*, vol. vi. p. 49, these words are quoted as follows: "Some with surplice and cap, some with surplice only, some with none." Dixon apparently is quoting from Strype's *Life of Parker*. The singular "cap" agrees with all the context, while the plural "copes" is not easy to explain. But it stands so, "copes," in the original MSS., though with a large blot between the "p" and "e" and the "s" out of place.

whole difficulty may be found by considering the ambiguity of the orders which were presented to the Clergy. Let us take first the Proviso (see p. 209) contained in the Act of Uniformity:

"Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church and the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in the Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI."

The questions which this Proviso suggests are innumerable.

1. Is it to be treated as other Provisos, and to be read [1] as subordinate to the main enactment of the Statute (*i.e.* the Act of Uniformity 1559)—viz. that the Second Prayer Book is to be restored, and service to be said in that form, and none other—that is, in surplice only?

2. Does it mean that all ornaments of the specified date are to be retained, and be in use, or only such as the Second Prayer Book makes room for?

3. If the latter interpretation is correct, does the removal of the Mass, and of the Altar at which alone vestments were worn, in the Second Prayer Book carry with it the removal of Mass vestments—*i.e.* of Chasubles as distinct from Copes?

[1] "(It is) a fundamental rule of construction (of an Act of Parliament) that a Proviso must be considered with relation to the principal matter to which it stands as a Proviso. (The proposed interpretation) treats it as if it were an independent enacting clause, instead of being dependent on the main enactment. The courts have frequently pointed out this fallacy, and have refused to be led astray by arguments which depend solely on taking words in their literal sense, disregarding the fundamental consideration that they appear in a Proviso."—Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton in *Rex* v. *Dibdin ex parte Thompson.*

4. Are Archbishops and Bishops ministers or not?

5. Are the ornaments to be in use regularly at all services, and in all churches, or only in some churches, and only on great occasions?

6. If they have been destroyed or wear out, are they to be revived, or only to be retained where they are already in use and in good condition?

7. What is meant by authority of Parliament?

8. What is meant by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI? (The date of the First Prayer Book.)

There is no reason to suppose that these questions were clearer to the ordinary clergyman of the days of Elizabeth than they are to us to-day. The lawlessness of which we speak may have been, and undoubtedly was, the result of ambiguity.

These difficulties were no doubt foreseen, and some attempt was made to provide for them by the insertion of the Ornaments Rubric of the Third Prayer Book, which ran as follows:

"Here it is to be noted that the Minister at the time of Communion and at all other times of his ministration shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book."

But this Rubric did not really make matters any clearer.

1. It referred to the Act "set in the beginning of the book," and so revived all the questions just now enumerated.

2. It did not explain whether "the ornaments" were those which were ordered at the end of the First Prayer Book only[1]—that is, surplices, or ornaments ordered in other parts of the book—whether all the ornaments or some.

3. It omitted all distinct reference to ornaments of Churches, and of Archbishops and Bishops.

The fact is, and it cannot be insisted upon too strongly, that only one point was clear—viz. that there was some intention to vary the very explicit Ornaments Rubric of the Second Prayer Book. But there was no clear guidance as to the extent or manner in which it was to be varied, and some considerable ground for doubting whether anything contained in a Proviso could legally vary the express and main enactment of the Act of Uniformity to the Second Prayer Book as the one guide for all public ministrations in the Church. There is no necessity for assuming a state of lawlessness, for there was ample ground for the most honest confusion. Indeed, as will be shown hereafter, there was probably a distinct intention to leave many questions open for decision by other authority than that of Parliament (see p. 62). From this ambiguity there is no very safe ground for inferring the intention of reviving sacrificial teaching.

Note.—In refutation of the contention that the second year of King Edward VI meant the year 1548, see the evidence of Sir L. Dibdin before the Royal Commission on Ritual, vol. i., Q. 2468, &c.

[1] P. 196.

CHAPTER V

"ORDER OUT OF CHAOS"

MANY Churchmen approach the controversy about vestments with the idea that the First Prayer Book ordered the use of the Eucharistic vestments at the Holy Communion, and not the use of the Surplice; that the Second Prayer Book ordered the use of the Surplice for the first time; and that the Third Prayer Book went back on this innovation, and returned to the vestments as against the surplice. Until this misconception is abandoned, it is quite impossible to explain in any reasonable way how the Surplice took the place of the Eucharistic vestments, and held the field in the Church of England without dispute for at least three hundred years. For although it is easy enough to point to the Advertisements (see p. 200) as either a tyrannical and illegal proceeding, or as the perfectly legal measure by which the surplice was established in its place as the Eucharistic vestment in ordinary churches, the question remains, why was it so established? Seeing that it was unpopular with the Puritans, and the Government also, according to one view, abolished its use as a Communion vestment by the

Act of Uniformity, what had happened in the few years between the Act of Uniformity (1559) and the Advertisements (1566) to bring it back into use as practically the sole vestment for all offices of the Church? Compromises are, no doubt, possible in politics, but the selection of this particular vestment, which had, according to popular theory, only been in vogue for about seven months in all the history of the Church as a Communion robe, requires something more than the theory of compromise to account for its adoption.

Let us turn from suppositions and presumptions to the safer region of facts.

The *Surplice* was no invention of the sixteenth century. It was a dress worn first in Northern Europe, where the use of leather clothing was necessary on account of damp and cold, and it is the linen vestment slipped over these leathern coats. It was in use for processions, burials, and the administration of Sacraments, and in the Mass itself, to protect the costly Eucharistic robes from contact with the stained or greasy leather garments. There is proof that it was so used in England as far back as the thirteenth century.[1] It

[1] Durandus says explicitly, "besides the afore named garments (Amice, Alb, &c.), there is another which is called the Superpellicium (Surplice). All those who perform any duty at the Altar and at the Divine service must wear it over their usual dress."

So we find that the Synod of Oxford 1222 orders that the Clerk who serves the Priest at the Altar shall wear the Surplice.

Again, the rules of the order of Sempringham 1446 require that under the vestments the Priest shall wear the Surplice.

These are only a few out of the many regulations quoted by Father

was no Reformation novelty. In justice to the Puritan objections to it, we must bear in mind that the surplice had been in use in the Mass, although not exclusively a Mass vestment.

When the Order of Communion at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI (1547) required the Communion to be administered after the Mass, it seems to be a liturgical necessity that the Surplice should have been used for this ministration. For the people had not yet made their way to the Altar steps (see p. 27), but only to the Lord's Table or to the Houseling Cloth, held often, as it would seem, in the Nave,[1] and Mass vestments could only be worn at the Altar. There is nothing strange in the statement of Il Schifanoya that the Priest after singing the Mass laid aside his vestments, and administered the Communion to the people in his Surplice.[2] If we may be guided by a later Lutheran use; the Priest probably laid his Mass robes on the Altar, but, retaining the Surplice, which he wore under them, went from the Altar to communicate the people (see p. 28).

Braun which show that the wearing of a Surplice under the vestments at the Mass was a common practice. It is this fact which explains the antipathy of the Puritans to the Surplice. They regarded it as a Mass vestment, refusing to take into consideration the point that it was used at all other offices, whereas the Chasuble, &c., were Mass vestments only. (Braun, *Liturgical Dress in East and West*, ch. vi., on the Surplice.)

[1] See p. 27. Cloths 20 yards long could only have been used for the nave.

[2] P. 31.

The First Prayer Book must, as we have seen (pp. 28, 29), have made such divesting even more frequent where a Priest was unassisted.

The Second Prayer Book substituted the Communion for the Mass, and so made Mass vestments simply impossible. They would have been liturgically incorrect. For the Lutheran analogy often pleaded in this connection is not to the point. Luther retained the Mass, and allowed the use of Mass vestments to be optional, as at least harmless. But in the Second Prayer Book sacrifice was replaced by Sacrament, and consequently the Sacramental dress, the Surplice, alone was possible.

Then came the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, and the Rubric based on it, in the Third Prayer Book. We have seen that under that book, however we account for the fact, the Chasuble, the distinctive Mass vestment, disappeared. It is quite obvious that liturgically this disuse was correct. The nature of a service is not altered by wearing a vestment which is inappropriate to it. The Sacrifice of the Mass not having been restored, there was no room for the sacrificial garment. It was simply destroyed, or kept in a muniment room with other disused ornaments. How such destruction or removal was consistent with the Act of Uniformity will be shown hereafter. But the Chasuble disappeared so completely that no attempt was made to restore it even by Archbishop Laud or any of his contemporaries, or, indeed,

by any one until the middle of the nineteenth century.[1]

There remained the Cope and Alb and the Surplice. The use of the Cope by the celebrant in the Holy Communion or Mass was in the Church of England an innovation by the authority of Parliament as expressed in the First Prayer Book. The Cope never had been a sacerdotal vestment, being worn by laymen as well as clergy. But it had been freely used in lesser functions, such as the censing of the Altar, and in processions. The First Prayer Book made it an alternative for the Chasuble. About the use of it in the Elizabethan office there was room for dispute, for, although used at the Altar, it does not appear to have been used in communicating the people, and in this case it might be urged that the ministration for which it was intended had ceased. Nor did it follow of necessity that, if it was to be retained and be in use, it was therefore to be used in all churches and at all seasons. Undoubtedly, if the Rubric before the Communion Office,[2] which stood in the First Prayer Book, had been retained in the Third

[1] It has been ingeniously suggested (*Hierurgia Anglicana*, vol. i, p. 273), that the reason for the disuse of the Chasuble was that Priests, being uncertain whether sufficient communicants would attend to enable them to administer the Communion, fell back on the Cope as lawful for the ante-Communion Service only. It is fatal to this theory that at the consecration of Bishops on the accession of Elizabeth we have repeated instances of the use of Copes, not one of Chasubles. There can have been no doubt that at such consecrations the Communion would be administered.

[2] P. 137.

Prayer Book, there must have been a constant use of vestments in all churches at every Communion Service. But that Rubric could not be restored. We have seen why it could not be restored. There was no Altar, and no sacrifice with elements offered on the Altar, and therefore no Chasuble. In the absence of that Rubric it was quite possible to contend that the surplice was the ornament of the minister at the Holy Communion, and that the Cope, the alternative for the Chasuble, was no longer lawful. Or the analogy of the Ordinance of Riga, 1530, might have been followed. It runs thus:

"In the matter of the dress of the minister during the celebration of the German Mass, it is our will that it be held permissible to wear a Surplice on Sundays, and *especially when communicants are present*, and for extraordinary festivals, as, for example, Easter, Whitsunday, &c., a Cope or Chasuble, or not, as may be convenient—that is, on Sundays a Surplice only may be worn; on feast days, however, a Cope or Chasuble (so long as a sufficient number of them remains, and seeing that they have cost much money, and if not used may become damaged) may be worn over a surplice, so that by such constant change and variety freedom in such external things may all the more clearly be marked."[1]

Still more suggestive of the real facts of the position is the following ordinance from the "Agenda Marchica," 1540.

[1] Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. ii. p. 90.

"When such services (*i.e.* Ante-Communion without Mass) are held, the Priests shall wear no Chasuble but only a Cope, or, in villages where there are no Copes, only a Chörrock (Surplice), that the simple folk may not remain in their old belief or be led to think that the Mass would again be begun and celebrated, as previously, without Communicants. But there where Church ministers are at hand, as *e.g.* in Collegiate and Conventual Churches and in many large cities, at such service ministrants also may be employed in Deacon's dress.

"It is our will that the Priests, at Divine service and at sermons, and whenever anything is done in the Church, and the Sacraments are administered, shall use their surplices (Chörrocke) as they have hitherto." [1]

These ordinances seem by a sort of sidelight to explain the remark of Sandys upon the Act of Uniformity—often quoted, but never satisfactorily explained hitherto. Bishop Sandys, writing to Archbishop Parker, April 30th, 1559, and alluding to the Proviso in the Act of Uniformity, says: "Our gloss upon this text is that we shall not be forced to use them (the ornaments), but that others in the meantime shall not take them away, but that they may remain for the Queen." [2] It is quite possible that there may have been an understanding that directions would be given by the Bishops or by the

[1] Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, vol. ii. p. 132.
[2] *Parker Correspondence* (Parker Series), p. 65.

Crown, which would explain the words "be retained and be in use" in the sense which Sandys attaches to it, without any taking of "other order." The ornaments were to be retained, that is clear. "They were also to be in use." How, when, how often? That was to be decided.

This question was at last decided in 1566 by the Advertisements—at least so far as the ornaments of the minister were concerned. The fact is not disputed, though the legality of the Advertisements has been a matter of fierce contention. But the dispute has turned on the point whether or not they were "the taking of other Order" which is contemplated in the Proviso (see p. 209). The law has decided that they were that taking of other order, and that they fulfilled the conditions for that purpose laid down in the Proviso.

According to the view maintained in this book, there is no necessity to prove that "other order" was taken at all. Confining the inquiry to the ornaments of the minister, we have shown that the question to be decided was not that of disusing or "taking other order about" vestments which the Act required to be used, but of settling the time, manner, and place of using those which the Act retained or for which it made clear provision. For this purpose the Queen had abundant authority under the power conferred on her by the Act of Supremacy. The Bishops also might fairly be called upon to settle it under the powers given them in the Preface "Concerning the Service of

the Church."[1] It would appear that the Queen expected them to use these powers. Nor is it necessary to suggest that her motive therein was the selfish motive of avoiding responsibility. Cecil, her principal adviser, was in close touch with the rising Puritan party. He must have been well aware of their sensitiveness, not only about the vestments themselves, but also about the authority which was enforcing them. He may well have believed that the Surplice would be more readily worn if it were represented that the wearing of it was not a law of God, but a mere order ecclesiastical. The preface to the Advertisements is in entire accordance with this theory. They do not follow the line of Injunctions. They do not refer to the Proviso in the Act of Uniformity. They are godly orders issued by Bishops who are Commissioners in response to an appeal from the Queen for the good government of the Church.

This very modest claim of authority has been interpreted as a sign of misgiving on the part of the authors with respect to the power by which they were acting. But it is not usual for persons who

[1] "And for so much as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same; to appease all such diversity (if any arise) and for the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this Book: the parties that so doubt or diversely take anything, shall alway resort to the Bishop of the Diocese, who by his discretion shall *take order* for the quieting and appeasing of the same: so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this Book. And if the Bishop of the Diocese be in doubt, then he may send for the resolution thereof to the Archbishop."

know that they are acting *ultra vires* to proclaim the fact. Such proclamation could only have resulted in perpetuation of the chaos. Whereas the settlement of the Advertisements really became a settlement, and proved to be in time a very enduring settlement, except that the Copes, as they wore out, do not seem to have been renewed, even in Cathedrals, and such as remained must have perished, with few exceptions, during the Great Rebellion. The use of the Copes was confined to Cathedrals, probably because larger funds for purchase of them were available, and because the pressure of the Crown as Visitor of the Cathedrals, being stronger than that of Bishops, left some reasonable chance that Copes might be provided in them. In Parish Churches, the Surplice remained the ornament of the minister in all his ministrations, as it had been by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI. It was not a sacrificial, but a sacramental vestment, and was therefore well adapted for the services which he had to perform. It helped to display, to those who understood the question, the teaching of the Church as to Holy Communion, and for the ordinary worshipper it marked the fact that the Communion did not stand apart from all other services in a class of its own. It had, of course, its solemnity as a Sacrament, but it made no claim to be a Levitical or quasi-Levitical Sacrifice.

Note.—The recorded instances of actual wearing of Copes may be reduced to two classes—until Laud re-

introduced them into college chapels and cathedrals. Those two classes are State ceremonials and consecration of Bishops. They were worn, in fact, in the very places where, according to Laud, altars had not been abolished. An exception must be made of Canterbury Cathedral, where altars were destroyed, and yet Copes were used for a time. Yet it was in Canterbury Cathedral that the first recorded consecration of Bishops without Copes took place.

Note.—Reference to the Injunction, p. 199, will show a curious parallel at all events to the expectation of "taking other order" and a significant declaration that no such taking of other order was necessary.

CHAPTER VI

"THE PRAYER BOOK OF TO-DAY"

"OUR Prayer Book" (see p. 12), has come to us in its present shape after revision in 1662. Charles II, on restoration to the throne of his fathers, had held out hopes that the Prayer Book would be so revised after conference between Anglican and Presbyterian divines, that the Presbyterians might use it without much difficulty. The Conference so held is known as the Savoy Conference. It is needless to say more than that the hopes of the Presbyterians were disappointed. The Prayer Book was indeed revised, but very few of the changes which they desired were introduced. Others were made in the very opposite direction. The result was the book which we now have, endorsed, as no other Prayer Book of our Church has been, by the authority of the Houses of Convocation.

For our purpose it is sufficient to inquire whether the changes then made either in the text of the Communion Office, or in the Ornaments Rubric were such as to bring back the doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice. It will not be necessary to mention all the changes made in the service. We may content ourselves with the most important.

The Bishops at the Savoy Conference had before them undoubtedly the First Prayer Book, and Laud's Scottish Prayer Book.[1] It is very doubtful whether they had any copy of the Second Prayer Book. From either of these they might easily have framed a sacrificial ministration, and that without recasting the whole service on the lines of the Latin Mass.[2]

There were also those who pressed upon them these changes. They are changes that were con-

[1] Archbishop Laud, by direction of Charles I, prepared a Book of Common Prayer for the use of the Church of Scotland. The great interest of the Book is that it embodies some at all events of the liturgical changes which High Churchmen of those days desired. Some of those High Churchmen took part in the Savoy Conference and in the Convocation revision of the Prayer Book, and there are points where the influence of the Scottish Prayer Book is manifest in our own Prayer Book.

[2] Scotch Prayer of Consecration:—

". . . Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, so that we receiving them according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of the same His most blessed body and blood, Who in the same night that He was betrayed took bread, and when He had given thanks he brake it and gave it to His disciples saying," &c.

The prayer of Consecration is immediately to be followed by the Memorial or Prayer of Oblation as in the First Prayer Book and containing the same words "we Thy humble servants do celebrate, and make before Thy Divine Majesty with these Thy holy gifts the memorial which Thy blessed Son hath willed us to make. Having in remembrance His blessed passion, resurrection, glorious ascension, rendering unto Thee hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring Thy fatherly goodness to accept," &c., as in our post-communion Collect.

sidered and rejected. Sancroft notes, "My Lords the Bishops at Ely House ordered all in the old method."

Of the changes which they introduced the most notable were—

1. The presenting of the alms and oblations at the Holy Table. The "oblations" are seen very clearly from the Scottish Office to be another name for the "alms." "The churchwardens shall receive the devotions of the people there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason *with the oblations therein*, and deliver it to the presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and place it upon the Holy Table. And the presbyter shall then offer up and place the Bread and Wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lord's Table."

This Rubric shows very clearly that the *oblations* in the Prayer for the Church Militant are not the Bread and Wine. It shows also the words which the Bishops should have used (viz. "offer up and place the Bread and Wine"), if they had intended an offering of the Bread and Wine. There could not be clearer evidence that no oblation of the elements was intended at this point.

2. There is the thanksgiving for departed Saints, in which there is no character of sacrifice.

3. In the exhortation to the negligent the words "in remembrance of the Sacrifice of the death of Christ" are substituted for "in remembrance of the death of Christ." But it is far more significant that this phrase does not occur in the Prayer of

Consecration, where it might easily have been inserted "to continue a perpetual memory of that most precious Sacrifice."

4. The command to non-communicants to withdraw was omitted—specifically on the ground that it was no longer necessary, non-communicating attendance having become obsolete.

5. The Rubric of the Consecration Prayer, "The Priest standing before the Table hath so ordered the Bread and Wine that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people and take the cup into his hands"—seems to be suggested by the Scottish Rubric, "But then during the time of consecration he shall stand at such a part of the Holy Table where he may with the more ease and decency use his hands." It is to be noted that in the Scottish Office this position is more significant as being ordered "at the time of consecration." According to the Lincoln Judgment the so-called Eastward position has no significance of a sacrificial character at all. It is said to signify no more than would be signified by standing at the North Side—the position ordered in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.[1]

[1] The writer, in quoting the Lincoln Judgment, does not express his agreement therewith as to the significance of the Priest's position. But it should be noted that in that Judgment the following words occur:

"In support of the North End position it is not necessary to cite many instances, because the prevalence *is beyond doubt*."

It is therefore safe to assume that the insertion of this Rubric did at least leave it quite open to the Priest to stand at the North End. If there had been an intention to compel the use of any other position, the North End could not have become *the prevalent* position "beyond doubt."

6. The insertion of the Rubric ordering the manual acts was at the direct request of the Puritans.

7. The Black Rubric is reinserted, but in it the words "Corporal Presence" are substituted for "Real and Essential Presence"[1]—with the result that any Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament is denied by the Church of England. "The Bread and Wine remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians."

These are the most significant changes from our point of view. They betray a most careful examination of the service, and a desire to secure more reverence, more decency, more careful statement of doctrine.

All the more conspicuous, therefore, and significant is the avoidance of changes which might easily have been made so as to give the service a sacrificial character. Most noteworthy of all is the retention of the Rubric which orders "that the Table shall stand in the Body of the Church." It is enough to say that if the alternative position, that is, the position in the Chancel, had not been used, there is hardly room to doubt that the Vestiarian controversy would never have arisen, nor the suggestion that any Sacrifice is offered on an Altar.

Passing on to the Ornaments Rubric, then, we must examine this Rubric, as some claim that it should be examined, by itself, as an Ordinance of

[1] See p. 188.

the Church of England.[1] So examined, does it restore the sacrificial vestments, and with them the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice?

The actual facts relative to the Ornaments Rubric in 1662 are seen most clearly by comparing it (1) with the Rubric which it displaced, and (2) with the Proviso in the Act of Elizabeth. We may thus escape the slippery ground of the intentions of the Bishops or of the Convocation. That the Bishops were conscious that the Rubric then in use was unsatisfactory is quite clear. Their first answer to the objectors contained the words, "we think fit that the Rubric continue as it is." But for all that, they changed it. Even if we refrain from discussing the motives of the change, we may note the results, setting the two Rubrics side by side:

Rubric of the Elizabethan Prayer Book, the Third Prayer Book	*Rubric of the present Prayer Book (1662)*
Here is to be noted that the Minister *at the time of the Communion and* at all *other* times of *his* ministration *shall use* such ornaments *in the Church* as were *in use* by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, *according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book.*	And here is to be noted that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their ministration shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.

The points of difference between the two Rubrics are noted by italics in the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book.

[1] Reply of the Legal Council of the E.C.U. to the Bishop of Manchester's Open Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 20.

We observe :—

1. That whereas the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book does not specifically mention Ornaments of Churches, the Rubric of Our Prayer Book does.

2. That whereas the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book makes no reference to the *retention* of Ornaments, the Rubric of Our Prayer Book does.

3. That the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book requires the Ornaments to be used by the Minister, while the Rubric of Our Prayer Book requires them to be in use.

4. That the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book has the words " at the time of Communion and all other times of their ministrations," for which the Rubric of Our Prayer Book substitutes " at all times of their ministration."

5. That the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book adds the words " according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book."

It may be said quite fairly (1) that the Rubric of Our Prayer Book gives more prominence to Ornaments of Churches than the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book, especially when we remember that the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book replaced a Rubric which referred only to the " Ornaments of Ministers." (2) Also that the Rubric of Our Prayer Book, whether intentionally or not, puts both sets of ornaments, *i.e.* ornaments of Churches and ornaments of Ministers, on the same footing in the matter of fair interpretation. If the word " all " cannot be placed in the room of the word " such," then of both

sets of ornaments is it true that "such" is not the equivalent of "all." Now we cannot with our present Ornaments Rubric use *all* ornaments of churches that were in the First Prayer Book. For the ministrations in which they were to be used are gone—the use, for instance, of the First Prayer Book, the Chrisome, the Chrismatory, and the Pyx. The introduction of "ornaments of churches" into the Rubric had a very marked effect upon the meaning of the Rubric, whether the revisers intended it or not. (3) The absence of reference to the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity is not strange in a Rubric which was a quotation (with one difference) from the Act set in the beginning of Our Prayer Book.

We may now pass to the contrast between the Rubric of Our Prayer Book and the Proviso (section 25) o. the Act of Elizabeth.

Elizabethan Act of Uniformity	*Our Prayer Book Rubric*
Provided always and be it enacted that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use *as was* in *the* Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI *until other order shall be taken therein by the authority*, &c.	And here is to be noted that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof *at all times of their ministration* shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.

1. The formal enactment becomes a rubrical note.

2. The substitution of "were" for "was" marks nothing more than a change of grammatical

usage between the two dates. The sentence as it stands was quite correct grammar at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth.

3. The reference to "other order" and the correct authority for taking such order is omitted in the Rubric with at least this effect, that what was a temporary provision has now lost its temporary character, either because the order has been taken, or because reference to it in a rubric is out of place.

The only real change is the introduction into the Rubric of the words "at all times of their ministration." Still rigidly refusing to assign hypothetical reasons for the introduction of them, we may ask what was the effect of them. It would certainly be to exclude ornaments which were not ornaments of the Church or of the ministers thereof at the times of their ministration. If since the second year of Edward VI—that is, since the First Prayer Book—any ministration which was required in that book had ceased, the ornaments appropriate to that ministration perished with it. The contention of this treatise is that one important ministration, the ministration of the Mass, had perished. It has been shown above how closely the service of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI followed the lines of the Latin or Gregorian Mass; how the whole framework, the order of the prayers, and the words of the prayers—so far as doctrinal necessities allowed—was the same; how distinctly and clearly the service of that book was a priestly service involving the offering of a memorial, though not of a

propitiatory, Sacrifice upon an Altar. It has also been shown how little the Second Prayer Book retained of the Order of the Mass—nothing, in fact, but the Lord's Prayer, the Epistle, Gospel, and Creed, a mutilated and displaced Sursum Corda and Sanctus, the formula of Consecration, a mutilated and seriously displaced Prayer of Oblation, and a displaced Gloria in Excelsis. All the rest was new. There was no Sacrifice to God made with material objects. There was no Altar;[1] only the Lord's Table for distributing the Sacrament was left.

But our inquiry may well be conducted further, and yet more minutely; for we have seen that Copes and Surplices remained, and were in use under the Act of Uniformity, but not Chasubles. It will be suggested that this disappearance of Chasubles was in strict conformity with the Act when it was originally passed, and with the Ornaments Rubric in its present place, on other grounds besides those which have been already mentioned.

Attention must be called to the very singular wording of the Rubric and Act—"such ornaments as were in the Church of England by the authority of Parliament." Diligent search of the Statutes of the realm by myself and by Mr. Ellis of the British

[1] This is not intended to mean that all altars had been destroyed. In point of fact a few were left, some in Cathedrals and some in Chapels Royal—so Archbishop Laud asserts in his defence. But the word was gone from the Prayer Book, and the service for which altars were needed: only the Communion, with the Lord's Table, remained.

Museum has failed to discover any parallel for this phrase[1] from the beginning of the reign of Edward VI to 1566. It appears to be quite unique. The ordinary phrase is "as was enacted by the authority of Parliament holden in the year," &c. It would have been quite as easy to use the same phrase here if nothing more had been intended than a bare reference to an Act of Parliament. In any case the words in question cover only such ornaments "as were by the authority of Parliament."

But were there any other ornaments? Undoubtedly there were ornaments of churches and of the ministers thereof by the laws ecclesiastical of the realm. These laws were valid whenever they were not contrary to the Statutes of the realm. The Rubric of Our Prayer Book orders that those which were by the authority of Parliament shall be retained and be in use. As to the rest it is silent.

Can it be maintained that the Chasuble was by the authority of Parliament? There would have been no doubt on the point if the usual phrase had been adopted, if the words had been "such ornaments as were commanded in the Book of Common Prayer ordered by the authority of Parliament held in the second year of King Edward VI." But instead of this a phrase, an absolutely unique phrase, is used, which distinguishes—or, at least, seems to distinguish—between those which were by the authority of Parliament and those which were not. The former

[1] *i.e.* "to be," or "was," "by the authority of Parliament," without an intervening passive participle, such as "enacted," &c.

are to be found in the notes at the end of the First Prayer Book: for ordinary Clergy the Surplice and Hood without the Stole; for Bishops the Chasuble or Cope, without the Aaronic ornaments. Also by authority of Parliament were introduced at the Lord's Supper the Cope and Alb, as an alternative to the Chasuble, in the Rubric at the beginning of the Service, and again, in a Rubric at the end, the Cope and Alb for the Ante-Communion Service when there was no Communion. These ornaments are to be retained and be in use. Of the rest no mention is made. The fact that Chasubles at once perished seems to show that they were not protected, nor intended to be protected. They were by laws ecclesiastical, not by authority of Parliament. The fact that there was no suggestion of reviving them in Our Prayer Book settlement, no mention of them in visitations, indicates that this distinction was most probably present to the Bishops who framed the Ornaments Rubric. But whether they thought of the distinction or not, there it stands. The Chasuble *and its appurtenances* are vestments for which the Church of England has no use, and the Ornaments Rubric does not restore them, since they were not "ornaments by the authority of Parliament."[1]

Nor does it restore the use of Copes in other churches than cathedrals; for the Rubric of Our Prayer Book clearly repealed the Rubric of the Third Prayer Book, which ordered "ministers to use

[1] See further on this point at the end of the note which follows this chapter, p. 84, for *the Chasuble and Alb only*.

at all times in their ministrations the ornaments which were in use by the authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI." For this it substituted the far more general terms of the Act of Uniformity: "The ornaments were to be retained and be in use."[1] But the Rubric took for granted that the method of retention and use was well known, and needed no further definition. The key to the Rubric was to be found in the Advertisements and in the Canons of 1604, which prescribe which of the ornaments are to be used and where they are to be used. If it be urged that laws ecclesiastical are valid so far as they are not contrariant to any Statute of the realm, no doubt the contention is true, but it protects only such ornaments as are consistent with ministrations provided in the Second Prayer Book, and conducted in the form which that Prayer Book prescribes. All anterior service books being abolished, the services contained in them, and the ornaments belonging to such services, are contrary to a Statute of the realm.

The claim to interpret the Rubric by the laws of the Church Catholic fails before the words "in this Church of England." Our Church maintains her power to decree rites and ceremonies, and it has exercised that right in such a way as to make its ornaments, and the ornaments of its ministers, consistent with its services. It is idle to pretend

[1] It has been shown that copes "might be retained and be in use," and yet the use be confined to certain churches. See pp. 59–64.

that our Church had the power to turn the Order of the Mass into an Order of Holy Communion, to substitute the administration of a Sacrament for the celebration of a Sacrifice, and yet had not power to decree what ornaments should be used in its offices. It is strange, and it must in the long run be injurious to the moral fibre of our Clergy, that they should consent to use in the holiest of services a form which conceals what they hold to be the truth, and utterly perverts, from their point of view, the balance of doctrine, and should then try to remedy the defect by using ornaments unsuited for the office which they are performing. Until the Church of England restores the Mass to the Prayer Book, the Mass vestments do but make a pretence of assimilating liturgies which are fundamentally dissimilar.

Note on Chapter VI

Inventory of Ornaments of Churches and of the Ministers Thereof

This book may fall into the hands of some who are unfamiliar with Church history. It may therefore be convenient at this point to remind some readers that before the Reformation the Church had its own laws and its own courts, which were entirely independent of the State. These laws are frequently referred to as the Canon Law; but it is enough here to note that all this body of ecclesiastical law was beyond State control. Henry VIII, by the authority of Parliament, declared

the whole of these laws and ordinances invalid, if they were contrary to any Act of Parliament. Since the Prayer Book rests on an Act of Parliament, whatever is contrary to that Act is illegal in the Church of England, even though it may have once been in accordance with the law of the Church. The Prayer Book holds the field to the entire exclusion of all preceding books of service. With the services the ornaments appropriate to them are illegal, and the claim to revive them by Church authority is contrary to the constitution of the Church of England. That the reader may form some idea of the greatness of the change involved by the Parliamentary authority for the Prayer Book, and the superseding of all former service books with their ornaments, an inventory of "ornaments by laws ecclesiastical" is here appended.

This Inventory is taken from the *Alcuin Club Tract* on "The Ornaments of the Rubric." The conclusions drawn from it are a reply only to the contention that the Ornaments Rubric must be interpreted, as it stands, without reference to other documents. It is suggested, then, in reply that the Rubric, as it stands, covers only such ornaments as were *by the authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI.* Taken literally, the Rubric does not refer, and cannot be construed as referring, to any other ornaments. Such ornaments as were *by laws ecclesiastical* are not protected by it. The Act of Uniformity of 1559, the Supremacy of the Crown, episcopal direction and visitation, and the Canons of Convocation regulate the use or disuse of pre-Reformation ornaments, other than those which the Rubric protects, and further, of any protected by the Rubric but no longer required on account of disuse of the prayers or service for which they were provided.

Ornaments of Churches and Ministers by Laws Ecclesiastical before the Reformation

(*Archbishop Winchelsea's Rule for the Province of Canterbury*)

A Legend.
An Antiphonary.
A Gradual.
A Psaltery.
A Tropary.
An Ordinal.
A Missal.
A Manual.
A Chalice.
A Principal Vestment with a Chasuble.
A Dalmatic.
A Tunicle.
A Cope for use in the Choir and all its appurtenances.
A Frontal for the Great Altar.
Three Houseling Cloths.
Three Surplices.
A Rochet.
A Processional Cross.
A Cross for the dead.
A Thurible.
A Light.
A Bell to carry before the Body of Christ in visiting the sick.
A Pyx for the Body of Christ.
A decent Lenten Veil.
Banners for Rogations.
Bells with Ropes.
A Bier for the dead.
A Vessel for Holy Water.
An Oscularium.
A Candelabrum for Paschal Wax.
A Font with a Lock.
Images in the Churches.
A Principal Image in the Chancel.

Other Ornaments required by the Consecration Deed

The High Altar.
Minor Altars.
The Table or Reredos.
The Altar Shelf.
The Canopy of the Altar.
The Hair.
The Coverlet.
The Curtains, Riddles, or Costers.
Carpets.

The Linen Altar Cloths.
The Altar Cross.
The Textus.
The Altar Lectern or Cushion.
The Paten.
The Chalice Spoon.
The Corporas.
The Palla.
The Corporas Case.
The Cruets for Wine and Water.
A Box for the Altar Bread.
The Sudary.
Two Basins for Washing the Hands.
The Superaltar.
Registers.
The Sackering Bell.
Processional Candlesticks or Torches.
The Monstrance.
Alms Basins.
The Lectern for the Gospel.
The Lavatory.
The Sedilia.
Screens.
The Rood Loft.
Stalls and Desks.
The Great Lectern.
Lesser Lectern.
The Organ.
Chanters, Stools, and Staves.
A Pall or Herse Cloth.
Torches.
Standing Candlestick with Lights.
Other Funeral Gear.
The Canopy for Processions.
Candle Holders for Candlemas.
The Lenten Veil and other Cloths for Lent.
The Easter Sepulchre.
The Triangular Candlestick.
The Rowel.
The Poor Man's Box.
Pews.
Pulpit.
Tables with Inscriptions.
The Chrismatory.
A Candle.
An Ewer and Basin.
A Napkin.
The Chrysome Cloth.
The Shriving Pew.
Various Wedding Gear.
Banner.
Verges.
Wands.
Clock and Chimes.
Clappers.
Fire Pans.
The Chafing Ball.
Carpets.
Candles for Lights.

Ornaments of Churches and Ministers by the Authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI

The following are the only ornaments covered by the strict interpretation of the existing Ornaments Rubric :

The English Bible.
The Book of Common Prayer.
The Book of Homilies.
The Poor Man's Box.
The Communion Cup.
God's Board (as distinct from the Altar, see p. 27).
The Quire Door.
The Bell (to announce services).
A Chair for the Bishop.
Surplice with Hood and no Stole.
Cope with Alb as a Communion Robe.[1]

The other ornaments in the First Prayer Book are ornaments by laws ecclesiastical, about which there is no direction in the Rubric. They have been regulated by the main enactment of the Act of Uniformity. The abolition of the service to which they belong has abolished the Canons and other laws ecclesiastical on which they rested.

1. Some disappeared with the Mass, *e.g.* the Altar, the minor Altars, the Altar Shelf, the Canopy of the Altar, the Curtains, the linen Altar Cloths, the Corporas and Case, the Superaltar, two Basins for washing the hands, the Sackering Bell, the Monstrance, the Gradual, the Missal, the principal Vestment with a Chasuble, a Dalmatic, a Tunicle, a Frontal for the Great Altar, an Oscularium. The disuse of the Mass and Missal carried with it disuse of all these.

2. Others disappeared through abolition of other services : Processional Candlesticks, the Chrismatory, the Chrysome Cloth, the Shriving Pew (auricular confession having given way to private consultation), a Cross for the Dead, a Thurible, Fire Pans, Chafing Ball, a Bell to carry before the Body of Christ, the Pyx,

[1] For Chasuble with Alb only see p. 84.

Banners for Rogation, Canopy for Processions, Lenten Veil, Eastern Sepulchre, Candleholders for Candlemas, the Altar Cross, the Rood Loft, Vessel for Holy Water, Candelabrum for Paschal Wax, Images.

3. Some have been superseded by the Book of Common Prayer in accordance with the Acts of Uniformity: a Legend, an Antiphonary, a Gradual, a Psaltery, a Tropary, a Missal, a Manual.

4. The use of the Cope has been regulated.

5. There are left—

Cruets for Wine and Water (Lincoln Judgment).
Screens.
Stalls and desk.
The Great Lectern.
The Organ.
Chanters, Stools, and Staves.
The Rowel—at least in Manchester Cathedral.
Pews.
Pulpit.
The Pall or Herse Cloth.
Standing Candlesticks.
Wands.
Clock and Chimes.
God's Board or the Lord's Table.
Poor Man's Box.
The Sedilia.
Communion Cup.[1]
Bell with Rope.
Chair for Bishop.
Surplice with Hood.
Cope with Alb in cathedrals.
Font with Cover.
Bier for the Dead.
The Bible.
Prayer Book.
Book of Homilies.
Carpets.

Of which the following are by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI—

The Bible.
Prayer Book.
Book of Homilies.
God's Board or the Holy Table.
Chair for the Bishop.
Surplice with Hood.
Cope with Alb in Cathedrals.

[1] The lid of the Communion Cup served as a Paten.

The history of the Chasuble at the last revision of our Prayer Book is of real interest. If Father Braun's contention be accepted, that the "vestment" means the Chasuble only without its appurtenances (see p. 19), then it was "an ornament by authority of Parliament." For until Parliament so ordered it, it had never so been worn. Now the order "that it should be retained and be in use" applied to it as an ornament not only of ministers but also of Bishops (see p. 196). In both cases it was an alternative vestment. In neither case was it used. The Bishops themselves passed it by in two instances, which may be called crucial. The first was the occasions of Consecrations of Bishops held between the passing of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity and the Advertisements (*i.e.* between 1559 and 1566). The Consecrations at that time were of unusual importance. They were part of a Communion Office at which there certainly must be communicants. If the service held was a Mass, the Chasuble and not the Cope was the appropriate vestment. But in this case there is no kind of uncertainty. We know definitely that the Chasuble was not worn, though it was "an ornament by the authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI."[1] What reason can be assigned for this but that the Bishops knew that they were celebrating not a Mass but a Communion? The second instance is in 1662. The Bishops had put in its place the present Ornaments Rubric. According to it, if we read it without the Advertisements, the Chasuble was the only ornament which was possible if the Bishops had been celebrating a Mass. But they did not wear the Chasuble, for the simple reason that they were not celebrating the Mass. They went further. At a certain point in

[1] *i.e.* when worn with the Alb only, without other appurtenances.

the Ordinal they required the Bishop to put on over his rochet "the rest of his episcopal habit." That "rest of his episcopal habit" was neither the Chasuble, nor the Cope, but the Chimere. It would seem that they accepted the Chimere as equivalent to the Cope. In any case neither consecrators nor the consecrated wore the Chasuble for the Communion Office, "the Chasuble with Alb only" being an ornament of the minister by the authority of Parliament, but only for the abolished service of the Mass. The reader must be warned again that this note goes on the assumption, with which the writer does not agree, that the Advertisements are not the legal "taking of other order."

On the Reply of the E.C.U. to the Bishop of Manchester's Letter

Most of this book was written before the E.C.U. pamphlet appeared. It has not seemed worth while to treat it seriously, since the argument on which it lays most stress is surprisingly weak as a legal argument. If the defence of ornaments rests on reading into the Ornaments Rubric words which are not there, and, further, on identifying "Proclamations" with "Injunctions," and, again, upon an Act repealed in the *first* year of Edward VI, for discovering what was sanctioned by an Act passed in the *second* year of Edward VI, some sympathy must be felt for counsel who are driven to such serious straits to defend their position. There is no Act of Parliament which gives to "Injunctions" "the authority of Parliament," and the Act which gave this authority to "Proclamations" was dead and buried before the second year of Edward VI.

CHAPTER VII

THE INSTINCT OF SACRIFICE

THE position of the Church of England in her Liturgy with regard to the idea of Sacrifice may be summed up as follows :

1. Before the Reformation, with all Eastern and Western Christendom, we used a Liturgy in which the idea of Sacrifice was clearly predominant, and that of Sacramental Communion so subordinate as to be practically lost. We had the Mass with rare Communions.

2. At the beginning of the reign of Edward VI we added a Communion Office to the old Sacrificial Liturgy. We had *the* Mass with regular Communions.

3. We then used in the First Prayer Book an office which combined the pleading of a Memorial Sacrifice in combination with Sacramental Communion. We had a modified Mass with regular Communions.

4. In the Second, Third, and our present Prayer Books we gave, and still give, such prominence to the idea of Communion that it is possible for a clergyman to conduct the Communion Service in due and lawful order without any mention of the word Sacrifice, except the one mention of the Sacrifice " full, perfect, and sufficient," once for all

offered by our Lord upon the cross. We have in fact the Communion without the Mass. There is no suggestion in any part of the office that the service which is being conducted is the offering to God of a Sacrifice made with the elements, either propitiatory or memorial. No doubt the alternative post-Communion Prayer contains the suggestion of a sacrifice of ourselves, and of a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but even that is an alternative Prayer, and its reference to other sacrifices than these is more than ambiguous. It can hardly be contended that an alternative and ambiguous prayer is the place which should convey the dominant note of a liturgical celebration.

The last half century has seen a determined effort to remedy this defect, as some regard it, first by the adoption of the Eastward position, then by the use of sacrificial vestments, then by decorating the table so as to make it look like a Roman altar, and lastly by manuals, hymns, and sermons—all having the same tendency. The result has been to emphasize more clearly than ever the unfitness of the office itself to exhibit the great doctrine that it ought to convey. It is in itself as purely a sacramental service as the service of Holy Baptism. Indeed the latter, with its prayer, "Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin," goes further in reference to the element used than any words in the Communion Office, and it retains the ceremonial use of crossing which has entirely disappeared from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The present treatise would by itself be consistent

with the demand made in some quarters for the restoration of the office of the First Prayer Book, if it did not go on to justify the great departure made in the Second. The First Prayer Book endeavoured seriously to maintain the weekly offering of the memorial to God; the Second provided a service to be used when there was a sufficient number of persons "religiously and devoutly disposed" to receive the Sacrament, after due warning and solemn preparation for it. Has the time come for the Church of England to confess its error and to retrace its steps, to make some return in the direction of the restoration of the Mass, or ought English Churchmen to stand fast on the ground which the Prayer Book at present occupies?

Although this is a far larger question than we set out to ask, yet it is one which should be very seriously faced. For already, by common consent, most Churchmen have dropped the use of the three exhortations which gave prominence to the occasional, as distinct from the weekly, use of the service. Further, there are now comparatively few churches in which there is not a weekly Communion, hardly any in which the priestly stole is not worn, and those clergy who still use the North side of the Holy Table for consecrating the elements are very largely regarded as partisans and narrow sectarians, although for centuries no other position had been prevalent in the Church of England, nor has it been proved that any other was actually

used.[1] Further, it will be observed that the regarding of the Holy Communion as a pleading before God of the Sacrifice of the Cross is by no means confined to High Churchmen. It may be urged that the whole trend of the teaching of the Church has altered, and that a revision bolder than that of the Savoy Conference is now necessary to make our Communion Office a worthy reflection of the mind and intent with which we come before God on that solemn occasion.

There are, however, serious practical obstacles which may be found on closer examination to arise out of a conflict of ideas which is very far from being superficial. Thus, it has not been a difficult matter to revive the practice of weekly celebration of Communion; it has not been quite so easy to extend, except among the leisured classes, the number of persons who communicate weekly. To meet this difficulty the practice of non-communicating attendance has been encouraged. From non-communicating attendance it is but a short step to

[1] The proofs on which the Lincoln Judgment rested were representations of the Holy Table in which books were placed in positions which suggested some other position than the North End. Only one representation was adduced of any Priest standing with his face Eastward, nor was there any record other than pictorial quoted of any Priest having adopted that position. Discussions on this question are usually conducted on the assumption that the Table must be oblong, but this was not always so. It the seventeenth century Holy Tables of an almost square shape were in use, one of which remains in Ringley Parish Church. Its dimensions are: length 3 ft., width 1 ft. 11 in., height 2 ft. 9 in. Such a Table might easily be placed in the Chancel *West* of the communicants, and the Priest, standing *before* it, could break the bread *before* the people.

make the Eucharist the chief service of the Sunday, and to relegate Morning Prayer to obscurity. But when the church is full, and the proportion of non-communicants large, and fasting Communion is made obligatory, it is again but a short step to discourage the Communion of any but the Priest, and the few whom the Rubric requires to communicate with him. We have now arrived at a Sacrifice which is being offered by a Priest; the whole emphasis is naturally thrown upon the idea of Sacrifice by the Priest using the elements for the purpose. Then arises the question, on what grounds but those of sheer prejudice is it denied that the Sacrifice is propitiatory—not, perhaps, in the sense of denying full efficacy to the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, but in the sense in which "we fill up that which is lacking in the afflictions of Christ" (Col. i. 24)?

Those who have travelled, as it were, by easy stages thus far find themselves not infrequently on the very doorstep of the Church of Rome—open wide to receive them, and requiring nothing of them but to deny to the Church of their Baptism its claim to be a true Church of Christ. The glamour of the reunion of Christendom blinds them to many other considerations. The Church of England begins to appear insular, modern, divided, unfaithful, and the vision of the Church Catholic, Apostolic, united, orthodox, becomes the vision for which they are ready to live and even to die.

The first question to be decided is surely this:

"If we do not desire the end of the journey, how far are we prepared to go on the road, and on what ground—logical or theological—are we going to say 'thus far and no farther'?" It is not as though the experience of our Church were singular and unusual. We have but travelled rapidly in the last fifty years over the same ground which substituted the Mass for the Lord's Supper in earlier days; some have travelled faster, some further, than others. But it is quite certain that the more non-communicating attendance becomes in a generation or two the practice of ordinary Church-folk, the more inevitable will the end be. For when the first deep religious impulse of any revival is spent, its outward practices, its forms and ceremonies, its prejudices and persecuting tendencies gather strength. The necessity for some clear formulation of the High Church position, such as that which the Bishop of Oxford attempted in his *Body of Christ*, is an indispensable preliminary to any revision of our Communion Office.

Unfortunately neither that book nor any other has been able to set out a docrine of Sacrifice which has arrested the Romeward advance. Nor has history so far furnished an instance of any Church which has defined and maintained this intermediate position. The result is that our Church is in very real, though not perhaps very immediate, danger of experiencing a fatal counter-Reformation.

The real parting of the ways is not at the teaching of a memorial as opposed to a propitiatory Sacrifice.

It is at the point of the absolute and final completeness of the one Sacrifice in its relation to God. Are we, or are we not, to believe that sin is once for all removed by the Sacrifice of the Cross, and that no presentation of a Sacrifice through the consecrated elements by an earthly Priest is needed, or is consistent with the completeness of the Sacrifice once for all offered? As soon as we admit that the Intercession of our great High Priest is a re-presentation of His Sacrifice upon the Cross, and that priests on earth are doing what He is doing in Heaven, we have at once the foundation on which step by step is built up the doctrine of the Mass. We have given up the sublime truth that Christ, having made atonement, has for ever *sat down* at the right hand of God, and has made us sit down with Him in heavenly places. We begin to be concerned in securing the Real Presence of Christ with us on an earthly Altar, rather than our real presence with Him at the right hand of God.

We enter, indeed, into a region of the deepest mystery when we endeavour to use human language to describe the work of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Heavens. The very variety of the phrases used in the New Testament warns us not to dogmatise, nor to force the realities of Eternity into the narrow logic of Time. For now He is presented to us as seated at the right hand of God. Session is not the attitude of Priest or Victim. Now we read of Him, but twice only, as standing at the right hand of God—which our Prayer Book explains as His office of "succour to all those who suffer for

Him." Now, once more, He is the High Priest after the order of Melchisedec, who has entered into that of which the Tabernacle "Holy of Holies" was but the shadow and earthly adumbration. Lastly, St. John beholds Him both as the glorified Alpha and Omega who walks among the golden candlesticks, and as the Lamb once slain standing midway between the Throne and the elders, having seven horns and seven eyes which are the seven Spirits of God. He is also King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

But the theology which works out into an earthly altar and an earthly sacrifice lays stress mainly on His High Priesthood, and regards Him as the Heavenly Aaron Who has entered into the Holy of Holies with His own Blood—as it is often erroneously urged—there to plead on our behalf His finished but still eternally-made sacrifice, eternally offering Himself in the true Holy of Holies. This teaching is supposed to rest upon the whole tenor and argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in modern exegesis it certainly plays a conspicuous part. But in fact the author of the Epistle actually assigns to the imagery of the Day of Atonement not more than seven verses. He introduces it incidentally into an argument concerning the contrast between the old and new covenant, which is the true theme of his Epistle. He passes from the imagery of the Day of Atonement, which is parenthetic, and dependent on his account of the Tabernacle, to the purification necessary after touching

a corpse, and so on to the scene described in the 24th chapter of Exodus. Those who build upon this imagery of the Day of Atonement rely much upon the words (ch. vii. 25), "He ever liveth to make intercession," holding that intercession must imply sacrifice. Yet St. Paul, using the same verb as the writer to the Hebrews, speaks of the Holy Spirit twice over, as "making intercession for the Saints"—and here there can be no suggestion of sacrifice.[1]

[1] Reference should be made to the late Archdeacon Perowne's unanswered and unanswerable argument in his book *Our High Priest in Heaven*. The writer well remembers, at the Birmingham Church Congress, after a debate on this subject, the emphatic way in which Bishop Creighton, who had been President, affirmed the absolute completeness with which Archdeacon Perowne had established his point in the debate. In the book referred to the Archdeacon points out that the whole typology is fatal to the idea that Christ as our High Priest is presenting to the Father Himself as Victim offered on our behalf. For it is beyond denial that the scene of Christ's High Priestly work is the Holy of Holies, in which there was no Altar, into which no victim was ever brought, and where only the blood without the flesh was presented before God. He works out with logical exactness the analogy between the High Priest's one entrance with the Blood, and our Lord's one cleansing once for all of the Heavenly Places with His Blood once offered: and further points out the analogy between the sacrifice on Calvary without the gate and the burning of the sin-offering without the camp. Nothing is clearer than that our Lord is now not the Aaron offering sacrifice upon the Altar, but the Melchisedec, the Priest King, upon the Throne of the Majesty on high. The oblation, as Archdeacon Perowne teaches, has been once for all offered and is now completely discharged: what remains of His Priestly work is (1) the intercession not by way of supplication but by way of right, sin having been for ever cancelled and discharged, and (2) the benediction, when He shall reappear. The Epistle to the Hebrews is a complete refutation of the doctrine which professes to be founded upon it.

In reference to the figure of the "Lamb as it had been slain" in the

It is evident, at all events, that no one figure of speech is sufficient to cover all the work of our ascended Lord. But when we ask how we are to regard the Holy Communion, our choice seems to lie between passages of Scripture which do not explicitly refer to that service, and the words used by our Lord in the institution of that rite. When we refer to these, it is not too much to say that the imagery of the Day of Atonement disappears. In the Providence of God He suffered not on the day of the Atonement, but on the day of the Passover. The words which have come to us from His lips carry our minds to the Paschal feast, which preceded in the Old Testament the Tabernacle and all its ritual. The Sacrifices of the Day of Atonement were burned without the camp ; the Sacrifice of the Passover was eaten by the faithful. The Paschal Lamb suffered on no altar ; when first killed it was slain before there was any priest to slay it. It belonged, in fact, to a ritual older probably than that of the Levitical priesthood. " Covenant " rather than " sacrifice for sin " was its dominant motive.

Following the rule of our Church not to teach as necessary to salvation more than can be proved and

Book of Revelation, the Archdeacon points out, that in the same book our Lord speaks of Himself as having once for all overcome, and being seated with the Father upon His Throne. His appearance before the Throne as the Lamb is not mediatorial but prophetic, in response to the demand for One who has prevailed to open the roll of prophecy. The Altar of the Book of Revelation also is without the Holy of Holies, as indeed in all Jewish imagery it must be. There is no Altar in the Holy of Holies, and in that Sanctuary our Lord is seated with His Father on the Throne.

concluded by Scripture, we are led by our Lord's own words to connect the Holy Communion with the Covenant meal rather than with the offering for sin. To say this is not in any way to deny or to derogate from our Lord's atoning work. The necessity for that remains entirely unaffected by this argument. Our faith in His High-Priestly work is untouched by it. It was, if we may say so with reverence, entirely within His choice to suffer on the Day of Atonement. He could have left us some ceremony in which the ideas of Priesthood, Altar, and Propitiation were predominant. But He did none of these things. It is a serious departure, and needing no little justification, to bring into the ordinance which He ordained ideas imported from other passages—ideas which, for all that we know—the writers of those passages might have entirely repudiated as having any connection with the Lord's Supper. Nor is this difficulty met by alleging the strong current of popular theology that has more or less identified things which were originally distinct. For it is very evident that this identification not only rests on insecure foundation, but has also had disastrous consequences. Out of it has grown up, as we have already indicated, the substitution of a Sacrifice offered by an earthly Priest for a Sacrament. However carefully the attempt is made to combine the two ideas, and to distinguish the Sacrifice of the Priest from the Sacrifice of the Cross, popular superstition has always in the long run disregarded these refinements.

The Judaism which St. Paul so earnestly combated has reasserted itself in the Church.

It was the repudiation of this Judaism which was epoch-making in the Reformation movement. It had come to pass that the Priest had assumed the office of mediator. There was no rest for the sin-laden conscience except through priestly absolution : no rest even for the sinner after death except through masses bought from the Priest. There was no approach to the Father such as even Prophet and Psalmist had enjoyed except through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. The new Covenant in fact had been abolished, and the old—or an even more onerous bondage—restored. The Reformation was a great liberation. The undoing of it is a return to the land of bondage. It is a battle which had to be fought by St. Paul, and again by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, this battle against the law of carnal ordinances. We need to-day as much as ever the Galatians needed it the command, "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

The wearing of vestments is in itself a matter of indifference. But the shifting of the centre of teaching as to our Lord's ordinance is a matter of life and death. For the foundation of the whole Roman system is not spiritual, but material. The Pope takes the place of Christ as Head of the Church Militant. The Priest offers the Body and Blood of Christ under forms of Bread and Wine upon the

Altar. Penances loom larger than repentance. The Spirit works mechanically through transmission of Orders. The Church Catholic on earth is a number of persons who can be counted with the accuracy of a census. The whole Eschatology is so overladen with materialism, that God is almost lost in the cloud of saints and angels who stand between Him and the soul: material days of purgatorial fire can be shortened by material pilgrimages and devotions. The spirit is stifled, and conduct rests on rules and devices, efficacious no doubt for some souls, but of purely human invention. Above all, Truth is made to rest on the foundation of tradition, and is for ever under surveillance, lest she should be destroyed by the advance of scientific inquiry. It is not by these means that the materialism of the present age will ever be combated. All unconsciously noble spirits desiring to serve their Lord are using carnal weapons of warfare in their combat against materialism. The spirit of the age has won its greatest triumph in capturing the fortresses of faith, on the plea that spiritual religion is not suited to the masses of the people. A visible Church by visible means must bring them into communion with the invisible God. This departure from the position not only of the Reformers, but also of the High Anglican School has undoubtedly been in a large measure a reaction against the invasion of Higher Criticism into regions of inquiry which seem to shake the very foundations of the Faith. While some are denying the Virgin Birth, others are trying

to revive Mariolatry. But it is not by reactionary movements that Truth is won. Truth can come only from patient observation of facts, however disquieting they may be.

Note to Chapter VII

It lies outside the purpose of this book to enter into interpretations of the meaning of the Lord's Supper which are derived from anthropology or from the Greek mysteries. For the object of this book is to determine the teaching of our Communion Service in relation to the ideas of Sacrifice and Sacrament. It is quite foreign to such an inquiry to discuss theories of sacrifice which have come to light long after the compilation of our Prayer Book. The sacrificial conceptions of the Reformers and of the Savoy Divines were based wholly on the Scriptures. Their conclusion drawn from that study was that the purpose of our Lord was to institute a Sacrament in remembrance of the Sacrifice of His death. They did not interpret this remembrance as a sacrificial act. In the Homily the two ideas are contrasted, and the Sacrament is described as a memory and not a sacrifice.[1] Whether modern research confirms their interpretation of Scripture is quite a distinct question. To discuss it involves points of textual criticism, questions of anthropology, and an examination of the relation of the teaching of St. Paul and St. John to the teaching of our Lord. The writer can only record his conviction that nothing has been established by recent criticism which invalidates the strong emphasis laid in our Service on "par-

[1] See Homily concerning the Sacrament: "We must take heed lest of the memory be made a sacrifice."

taking" as distinct from "offering." Rather does recent inquiry confirm the correctness of this emphasis. It is true that we could not in any sense have been partakers of the Body and Blood of Christ, had not Christ been first sacrificed for us. But that Sacrifice is His own act from first to last, and it stands wholly and entirely outside our reach in any shape or form. "It cost more to redeem our souls: we must let that alone for ever." But the Sacrifice being completed and finished, He has invited us to the sacrificial meal, and we obey His command not by offering Him to God, but by receiving from Him the spiritual food which He has provided. Our sacrifices are spiritual, the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and the sacrifice of ourselves to His service: to that service not as isolated individuals, but as "one body," "one fellowship," exhibiting our love to Him by sacrificing our own tastes, prejudices, conveniences, comforts, yes, and when the call comes, our lives also, for the sake of His Body the Church. Here is a whole field of positive teaching, adequately and vividly set forth in our Communion Office. Would to God we all entered more fully into the blessed mysteries of this life of Christ in ourselves.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POLICY OF THE CHURCH AT THE PRESENT CRISIS

The true question which the authorities of our Church have to decide is whether the adoption of vestments, or even authoritative permission to use them, is a retrograde step or an advance. It is clear that a mistake at this point could not fail to have very serious consequences. For we have, during the last half-century, seen the Church drift into a strange indiscipline. Though each Deacon, Priest, and Bishop most solemnly binds himself at each stage in his career to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and to obedience to lawfully constituted authority, yet, discipline and authority are confessedly in abeyance. It is true that personal loyalty, or loyalty to the episcopal office, maintains in each diocese a certain average standard of uniformity. But the varieties between diocese and diocese are considerable. We may almost be said to have returned to "uses" of London and Chichester, of Oxford, Peterborough, and Manchester. At the same time each diocese contains interpretations of its own rule very far away from the average. It is needless to multiply instances.

The Bishops are under a kind of pledge to the State to restore order. "Give us time," they said through their spokesmen in Parliament; "give us a Royal Commission," "give the Convocations Letters of Business," "and we will reduce irregularities." But nothing has been done. The step most definitely contemplated is a revision of the Prayer Book, which shall give to vestments the official authority which they have hitherto lacked. If this is the answer of some Bishops to the call made upon them to restore order in the Church, and if, as seems probable, their revision of the Prayer Book will recognise as lawful other practices which are now irregularities, it would appear that they look upon concessions to disobedience as the first step towards securing discipline. Some have even avowed the hope that in return for this consideration other practices even less consonant with the law will be abandoned by some who have adopted them.

But the real difficulty is that during a whole generation of indiscipline there has grown up in certain quarters a spirit of disloyalty to the Church of England as a Protestant or Reformed Church. It is described as Catholic, and its one hope for the future is taken to be reunion with the Church of Rome. The advocates of this view are beginning to say that the time has come to let people see whither we are leading them: and in order that the goal may be quite plain they are frankly accepting almost the whole of Roman doctrine and worship.

They refer also to the laxity allowed to those who deny the Virgin Birth of our Lord, and the reality of His Resurrection, and they plead that the Church which allows such latitude in one direction must not be surprised if others take it in another direction. The numbers of this "school of thought" may not be large, but they include among the junior clergy not a few men of marked ability. Their movements are guided by the President of the English Church Union. The history of the Tractarian Movement continues to repeat itself. Those who refused to follow Newman tried to build up a strong Anglican, but anti-Protestant, position. Their hands were forced by the Ritualists who used language and practices from which Pusey, Church, and Liddon shrank. But still the earlier Ritualists believed that their goal was an Anglican Ritual and an Anglican position. Once more Anglican is being forced to yield to Catholic, and the strong logic of the Roman position is beating down the refinements and wire-drawn distinctions of the extreme Anglican position. "Let us be honest," the younger men are crying; "let as say definitely what our aim is, and cease to draw men Romeward without confessing that we do definitely hold the Roman position."

What is the necessary effect of authorising the use of vestments at such a crisis as this?[1] As Father Braun pertinently asks—"If they are valued

[1] In "Die liturgische Gewandung in der englischen Staatskirche" (ad. fin.), Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, *Jahrgang* 1910.

as indicating the continuity of the Church—with what Church?" Do we or do we not mean continuity with the pre-Reformation Church? If we mean this, let us say so, and in saying so remember that we cannot strip the vestments of doctrinal significance by archæological researches as to their origin. There can be no manner of doubt that of all members of our Church those who will most value the authorisation of vestments are those who already use them, because both the use of them and their significance helps to bridge over the somewhat insignificant fissure which in their eyes separates Canterbury from Rome.

Experience seems to indicate that while the distinction between Sacrifice and Sacrament is clear, between various theories of Sacrifice there is no such clear line of demarcation. The reason may perhaps be found in the fact that the Sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ upon the Cross covered and combined all forms of Sacrifice. It was not only a Sin Offering, but also a burnt-offering, a Covenant Sacrifice, the antitype also of the Daily Sacrifice, and many others. Piety, when it once begins to work upon the field of typology, is most difficult to restrain. It glories in finding ever new resemblances, and the more fanciful it is, the more spiritually refreshing and edifying is it wont to be. Besides this an appeal is made to the whole instinct of human nature which longs to bring God something that is really worthy of His acceptance. What offering can be better than the Offering of His own

Son ? [1] Here the artistic instinct joins hands with the pietistic, and demands that the surroundings of the Offering should be at once costly and beautiful. The worshipper, carried away by the desire to represent worthily that which the great High Priest is offering in the Heavens, resents all restraints upon his imagination as promptings of unbelief. Step by step he is carried on to that conception which the Church of Rome has worked out, not merely with perfect logic, if the premises be once granted, but with an equally perfect sensitiveness to the cravings of humanity. The glory of the latter Temple becomes greater than the glory of the former, because the Victim who lies upon the Altar is none other than the Lord Himself under forms of Bread and Wine. The question whether such sacrifice is, or is not, propitiatory, when for centuries the faith of the Church Catholic declared that it is so, appears to be little else than insular prejudice.

At the risk of repetition, it has been necessary to show once more what is implied by the revival of sacrificial garments : how difficult it is to find any halting point on the road to Rome, when once room has been made for the re-presentation of a Sacrifice. But what if the teaching does ultimately carry us Romeward ? Is it not possible that the Anglican

[1] To the writer the words sound blasphemous, but they are found in a leaflet circulated in his Parish by a Vicar, " The presenting of that bread and that cup upon the table before God is the one great thing that Christ enjoined, as the Christian sacrifice, His Memorial for ever, —so that we may continually come before God with a gift, a present, His own gift, His Son."

Church has erred, and that the time has come for her to retrace her steps, and to join with Rome in the great battle against materialism and unbelief?

The plain answer of Protestantism is that materialism can only be met by spiritual religion. The question is not one of temperaments, of the different ways in which artistic or inartistic natures express their worship. Deeper far than this is the question whether we dare to be led by the Holy Spirit of God in the quest of Truth, whether "the unity of the faith" is a goal already reached, which men must force themselves to accept as a necessary and unquestioned presupposition, or a fuller revelation of the glory of God than it has yet entered into the mind of man to conceive—a revelation in which all that we are learning from Nature of the working of the Mind of God will one day be found to be in perfect harmony with the truest interpretation of the Word of God contained in Holy Scripture; a revelation into which each new race of mankind that is brought to the foot of the Cross will bring in its own characteristic share through its own appreciation of the Risen Lord; a revelation in which facts will not be at war with faith, but faith will learn that "the truth is never that which we choose to believe, but always that which we are under a necessity to believe" (Hort's *The Way, the Truth, and the Life*, p. 93, second edition).

Cold and barren as the Sacramental Feast appears to those who have accepted the doctrines of Eucharistic Sacrifice, yet it does stand for a rever-

ence which dare not add anything to the Lord's own simple words, and cannot by any human artifice add to the reality of His living Presence. It stands for a belief that, just as decorations would have been offensive in the upper chamber at Jerusalem, so there is something tawdry in the noblest efforts of art to make His Presence more real by material adornments. But beyond all this, the true spirit of Protestantism, while thankfully accepting Divine channels of grace, insists that the reconciliation between God and man is an utterly Divine work from first to last in every human soul in which it takes effect, and that membership of the external Church avails nothing apart from true appropriation of Divine Grace. It emphasizes the directness of the dealing of God with the sinner. It insists on entrance into the Holiest through the Blood of Jesus.

For these reasons Protestantism finds no help from Rome in combating unbelief, but rather very serious hindrance. At the present moment, when the field of exact knowledge is being daily enlarged in all directions, often with no small apparent danger to the faith, it refuses to take refuge in the voice of external authority. It refuses to commit intellectual suicide in order to save the faith. Believing that the living Lord will in His own good time make clear the Unity of all truth, it dares to wait for His time, and to follow on step by step, acknowledging each clear addition to the sum of human knowledge, and to trust Him even where the path

is darkest. Whatever may have been the blind antipathies of the past, it is not those that weigh with thoughtful men in resisting the forces that would lead us Romeward. It is the strong conviction that Truth is the pearl of great price, and that it is only by selling all that he hath, that the merchant of God will ever purchase it.

Under this strong conviction this book has been written, dealing with a question which is apparently of the most trifling importance. It seemed useful to clear up step by step the position which our Church reached in reference to the Lord's Supper. Though some of the details are technical, yet it has seemed unwise to omit them, for on no foundation has much of the Roman teaching in the Church of England built more confidently than on misconstruction of the Ornaments Rubric.

The writer humbly commends these considerations to the attention of the authorities of the Church, and specially to his brethren in the Upper House of Convocation of the Province of York, with the earnest prayer that God may deliver them from taking any steps at this crisis which would strengthen the Romeward movement in the Church of England. He makes no futile call for reversion to irreverence or slovenliness, but he enters his most earnest plea against the taking of any fresh steps in a direction of which the dangers have been abundantly proved, and urges that the time has come for High Churchmen to define, before it is too late, their doctrinal position as against the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER IX

POSTSCRIPT

It may serve to lift our subject above the level of legal controversy and disputed questions of textual criticism if we endeavour in conclusion, for a brief space, to consider what are the great principles that underlie the main contention as to the true character and meaning of the Eucharist. It is difficult for any one person to do justice to both sides, but in the endeavour to do so seems to be some hope of one day reaching the truth as to this sublime mystery.

The Eucharist, then, is concerned with the relations between the Divine Life and the human. As Christians we hold that these two are not separated by an impassable gulf. We believe not only that God has revealed to man His Nature and His Will, but that it is also His purpose to make man in some real sense a partaker of the Divine Nature. With this object the Son of God, the Eternal Word, was made flesh, and not only manifested in the world the true Life, but also became subject to death for our sake, and Himself bare our sins in His own Body on the tree, that He might deliver us from the guilt and power of sin, and make us capable of

receiving the Life that is from above. This mystical union is effected by faith and sealed to us in the two Sacraments of the Gospel, Baptism being the Sacrament of our new birth, and the Lord's Supper the Sacrament of continued and ever deepening spiritual life. So far there is not any serious division of opinion or faith.

Further, it may be added that, while doubts have been raised as to the manner in which the Sacrament of Baptism is efficacious, there has not been any serious division in the Church of England as to the mode of administering it. No distinctive ceremonies of ritual or ornament are used to mark such cleavage of opinion as exists. There is no special treatment of the font, no dress of the ministering priest, no ceremony such as anointing, or giving the chrysome, or use of lights or salt, which it is sought to revive, so far at all events as the writer knows. The Tractarian controversy began at the font, and for a long while centred round it. But the storm-centre is no longer there. It would not be correct to say that agreement has been reached; it would be more true to say that on one side Calvinistic teaching which by its doctrines of election and predestination seemed to put Baptism in the background, is less prevalent in the Church of England than it was, and that, on the other side, it has become common so to exalt Confirmation as to depreciate Holy Baptism. It is not unusual to hear Holy Baptism described as an incomplete Sacrament. For effecting its completion, one side lays

stress on repentance, faith, and conversion, and the other on sacramental grace conveyed by the laying on of hands. Thus, unconsciously and unintentionally there has been approximation between two views that were sharply antagonistic.

As to the other Sacrament, it appears to one who tries to understand what is called the High Church position from without that the Eucharist is regarded as a dramatic re-presentation of the mystery of Redemption. The word "dramatic" must not be understood in any depreciatory sense, but in the sense of teaching conveyed and grace imparted by action. The interest and thought of the worshipper are focussed on action which is taking place beyond the veil. There the great High Priest of the Church is eternally pleading before His Father His Sacrifice offered once for all on Calvary, but presented eternally to make intercession for sin. What He is doing in Heaven the Church by His authority is doing on earth, presenting through the Priest the consecrated elements in which Christ Himself is sacramentally present. What He presents on high, His Church re-presents on earth. Worship and adoration are the natural attitude of the hearts of all present. Even without receiving the Bread and Wine, worshippers cannot fail to gain untold blessing from the Presence of the Lord Whom they have worshipped under those forms. Further, those who have been judged worthy, after confession, penance, and absolution, to be partakers, have, with body as well as with spirit, been partakers of the Lord's Body and Blood. They have received

the Sacrament fasting, that this heavenly food may be the first that they receive into their bodies. But the emphasis is not on reception; it is on the coming of the Lord in connection with the consecration of the Bread and Wine. Here is a breaking down of the barriers between spiritual and natural, a transforming of, or giving a new character to, material objects by a spiritual Presence associated with them. This great mystery has, if we may so say, grown upon the Church in the course of ages. The expression of the thought of the devout has found an outlet in solemn words and acts, each of which has to the faithful its appropriate significance, so that not one can be omitted without loss or injury. The incoming of the heavenly into the earthly, and the presenting before God of that which He has wonderfully given, is worthily expressed only in the language and action of the Church Universal; nor has any particular local or national Church the right of altering any ceremony that is really significant, or omitting any ornament that is really appropriate. This great office stands alone among all the services of the Church, for in it alone is there an extension of the Incarnation, the perpetual renewal of the union of the human with the Divine.

From this point of view ceremonial can never be of secondary importance. The fact that it has often been misunderstood or misinterpreted matters very little. This great mystery is not intended to speak to the vulgar, but to the initiated, the faithful. The really important work for the Church of Eng-

land is that the lost treasury of devotion should be recovered. If the process of recovery brings us one stage nearer to reunion with Eastern and Western Christendom, such reunion should be reckoned not as loss but as the greatest of all gain, the answer to the prayer offered on the night when the Sacrament was instituted: "that they may be one, even as We are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may all be perfected in one, that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me."[1]

It may be that the foregoing is a very imperfect expression of the aspirations of those who are restoring the ritual of the Mass, but it is an honest attempt to look at their endeavour as something more than mere imitation; not as disloyalty, but as the highest form of loyalty, the exaltation of eternal truths, the endeavour to bring men back to the greatest of all Realities. Nor will it be unnoticed that this dramatising of so great a mystery calls for much pomp and dignity, and thus is in perfect harmony with the spirit of the age, with the revival of shows and pageants, with the endeavour to escape from the drab monotony of a world of machinery into the region of romance. It is true that we move here into a far lower plane, but we have a sentiment which responds with some readiness to the appeal presented by the Ritual revival. In an age of materialism it may well seem to be unwise to forego the advantage which the widespread love of scenic display gives for the entrance of religious truth set in a more or less dramatic form. What

[1] St. John xvii. 22, 23.

appeal can Puritanism make at all comparable in force to the joint appeal of mysticism and æstheticism?

The Puritan, or Protestant, or Evangelical reply—call it by which name you will—is this. Faith has two enemies, superstition and unbelief. The characteristic of superstition is to multiply needlessly Divine interferences with the rational order of the world. The object of this multiplication is pious, but its end disastrous. Seeking to bring God into the material world, reckless of the demands that it makes upon reason in the process, superstition ends by setting reason in arms against religion. On the other hand, superstition so easily simulates religious devotion that it is very difficult for the ministers of religion to resist the temptation of exploiting an ally so easily won, and in command of such large numerical forces.

Now it is a mere matter of history that Christianity, as it spread in the Roman Empire, came into contact with many debased forms of religion. Not the least danger attendant on missionary enterprise is the hour of success. When multitudes seek Baptism, it is difficult to give them proper instruction. Imperfectly instructed, they import into Christianity relics of their old heathenism, and colour therewith their new religion. It is, consequently, no proof of the truth of a religious observance that we can trace it as far back as the third or fourth century. By that time the influence of heathenism on Christianity is already apparent. Religious development *may be* nothing else than

religious degeneration. It is not without reason that the Reformation turned to the Scriptures as the final authority in matters of faith. In the New Testament we have Christian faith uncoloured by heathen superstition, cradled by the Providence of God, in the stern nursery of Judaism.

Turning, then, to the New Testament, we find that the importance attached to the Mass in modern theology is altogether out of perspective with these primitive records of our faith. No doubt we read there not a little about the union of the Divine with the human. We read of the Divine indwelling in the believer, the indwelling by all three Persons of the the Blessed Trinity. "If any man will keep My words, My Father will love him, and We will come unto him, and make Our abode with him." "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." "Your temples are the bodies of the Holy Ghost Which dwelleth in you." Not only are such allusions to the Divine indwelling frequent, and not directly connected where they occur with the Eucharist, but they are not by any fair mode of interpretation to be restricted to the Eucharist. For it is, according to Roman and quasi-Roman interpretation, the glorified humanity of Christ Which is present in the Eucharist. But the indwelling of the glorified humanity is not easy to bring into line with the indwelling of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity in the believer. This latter indwelling would appear to be vastly more important than the former. It is taught frequently, taught urgently, taught explicitly. The other is hardly mentioned, and has

to be read into the Gospels and Epistles. It certainly does not lie on the surface. It is difficult to believe that the Apostles would have been silent on the subject if they could have used such words as the following, taken from a popular manual:[1]

"Jesus, Thou art within me now. I have Thee in my breast as Holy Mary had Thee in her arms. Thou hast come to me, quite silently; hidden under the forms of Bread and Wine, but even so I know Thee, Jesus, King of Heaven, Thou art in me."

It is not a mere question of temperament that divides the two teachings of Sacrament and Sacrifice. Those who hold the purely sacramental view of the Eucharist hold fast to the teaching of the Divine and Spiritual indwelling. For thereby each believer is brought into such direct and close relation with God that there is no room for the intervention of any human priesthood. They regard this indwelling as satisfying all spiritual needs, and satisfying them so fully that any other intervention is a mere intrusion and wholly unwarranted. They believe that the sacrificial view took its origin out of an attempt to link the Christian Ministry on to the Levitical Priesthood, and that it arose from the necessity of finding some sacrifice for the Priest to offer. As there could be no Sacrifice but that of Christ, it became necessary to teach that He was in the Host, therein offered up to God the Father, and therein received and consumed by the Priest and the communicant. From the same origin follows the whole system of confession, penance, and

[1] S. Swithun's *Prayer Book*, second edition, eighteenth thousand, p. 100. Catholic Literature Association.

absolution, again all taught, at least in a manner, quite out of perspective with the New Testament, and, as we understand the book, in direct contradiction to it.

But we shall be expected to show what room is left under our interpretation for the continuance of the Lord's Supper, what real value it has for those who deny its sacrificial character.

Our answer may be summed up in a single sentence. The Holy Communion is to us the drama of the Heavenly Banquet, again using the word drama in the same sense as before, of teaching and grace conveyed by action.

In the Holy Communion the devout believer receives first of all under the divinely appointed signs and seals the assurance of that pardon of sins through the Cross which has already been conveyed by the words of absolution. The Lord, by tokens which signify His atoning power, delivers and seals to each faithful believer the assurance, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins have been forgiven thee."

Next, through faithful use of the same tokens the Lord conveys to him, and strengthens in him, that Divine indwelling by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of which we have already spoken, and confirms him therein.

Thirdly, the Church by assembling to celebrate that banquet both foreshadows the coming of her Lord, and, again by the virtue of the same indwelling, cements the holy bond of fellowship which unites His whole family on earth and in Heaven. For the marriage supper of the Lamb is nothing else than our final reunion with God. Of that reunion each Lord's

Supper on earth is a blessed foretaste. As one family we meet at the Table of the Lord. The Lord Himself is with us, though our eyes be holden that we cannot see Him. His Presence in the Sacrament we do not deny, but rejoice therein with exceeding great joy—also with a firm faith that the veil will one day be withdrawn, and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

One further question may be raised. We may be asked, "Where is the antagonism between these two lines of thought? Is it not possible to combine both, seeing in the Eucharist a Godward aspect as well as a manward—a Sacrifice as well as a Sacrament? Undoubtedly it is possible to see both aspects in the same service, and all agree in seeing in the Holy Communion a Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving as well as a Sacrifice of ourselves, not as individuals only but as a holy fellowship to God —a Sacrifice acceptable to Him only through the merits of the one great Sacrifice upon the Cross. The opposition is not in these beliefs, but in their relation to the consecrated elements.

History has shown that the attempt to put the thought of Sacrifice with the elements into dramatic action has inevitably resulted in attaching to material objects spiritual value, apart from, and independently of, their use. Thus it becomes part of the age-long contest against sacerdotalism in religious worship, the transforming power being attached to definite formulæ and persons, the most serious contest that human history records, for behind it lies no small part of the battle for human freedom, the question of immediate or mediated access to

God.[1] It is a question too large to be discussed here. But if the view taken in this book is correct, the Liturgy of our Church is committed very wholeheartedly to one of these two views, that is, to the directness of our access to God through the finality of the atonement wrought upon the Cross, and the completeness of the reconciliation of God to us.

This teaching we find expressed with marvellous beauty and fullness in the service of our Church. We do not need to withdraw anything, nor to add anything. For the faith which we hold we have learned, as it were, at our Mothers' knees. It is the Service of our Church, as we have used it Sunday after Sunday, that has opened unto us the meaning of these holy mysteries. There is not a line which we desire to be altered, not a word which we wish to be re-written—unless indeed it were the one word "damnation"—in that beautiful Preface which is now hardly ever heard. This heritage of faith, won for us with the blood of martyrs, this teaching on which Saints of our beloved Church have been brought up, with the quiet and dignified ceremonial that belongs to it, we pray to God may not be taken from us. Earnestly also we implore our Fathers in God not to betray that form of Liturgy to which they have declared their allegiance, and not to corrupt it by meretricious ornaments which belong to a distinct and wholly alien teaching.

[1] See Canon Knox Little's letter to the *Times*, Dec. 26, 1913: "Without a Bishop no priest . . . without a Priest no Communion to receive."

APPENDIX I

First Prayer Book compared with the Gregorian Mass and the Lutheran Order of the Mass.

ORDO ET CANON MISSAE.			LUTHERAN, 1523.
GREGORIANUS.	GELASIANUS.[1]	ANGLICAN. 1st P. B. of Edward VI., 1549.	Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*, ii. p. 83.
I. In the name of the Lord. Here beginneth the book of Sacraments de circulo anni, edited by Saint Gregory, Pope of Rome. How Mass is celebrated.		*The Priest, standing humbly afore the middes of the Altar, shall saie the Lordes praier, with this Collect.* Almightie God, unto whom all hartes bee open, all desyres knowen, and from whom no secretes are hid: clense the thoughtes of our hartes, by the inspiracion of thy holy spirite: that we may perfectly loue thee, and worthely magnifie thy holy name: through Christ our Lorde. Amen.	
II. That is to say first of all the Introit, according to stated times, whether festivals or ordinary days.		*Then shall he saie a Psalme appointed for the introite: whiche Psalme ended, the Priest shall saye, or els the Clerkes shal syng.*	Introit.
III. Then the Kyrie eleison.		iii. Lorde haue mercie upon us. iii. Christ haue mercie upon us. iii. Lorde haue mercie upon us.	Kyrie.

IV. Also is said the Gloria in Excelsis Deo, if it be a Bishop, but only on Sundays or feast-days. By Presbyters it is said only at Easter. When the Litany is used neither the Gloria in Excelsis Deo nor the Alleluia is sung.

Then the Priests standyng at Goddes borde shall begin,

Gloria in Excelsis.

Glory be to God on high.

The Clerkes. And in yearth peace, good will towardes men.

We praise thee, we blesse thee, we worship thee, we glorifie thee, wee geue thankes to thee for thy greate glory, O Lorde GOD, heauenly kyng, God the father almightie.

O Lorde the onely begotten sonne Jesu Christe, O Lorde GOD, Lambe of GOD, sonne of the father, that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde, haue mercie upon us: thou that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde, receiue our praier.

Thou that sittest at the right hande of God the father, haue mercie upon us: for thou onely art holy, thou onely art the Lorde. Thou onely (O Christ) with the holy Ghoste, are moste high in the glory of God the father. Amen.

Then the priest shall turne him to the people and saye,

Prayer.

The Lorde be with you.

The Aunswere. And with thy spirite.

The Priest. Let us praie.

V. Then is said the Prayer.

Then shall folowe the Collect of the daie, with one of these two Collectes folowynge, for the kyng.

Almightie God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, haue mercie upon the whole

[1] Except where specified practically identical with the Gregorian.

congregacion, and so rule the heart of thy chosen seruant Edward the sixt, our kyng and gouernor; that he (knowyng whose minister he is) maie aboue al thinges, seke thy honour and glory, and that we his subiectes (duely consydering whose auctoritie he hath) maye faithfully serue, honour, and humbly obeye him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinaunce: Through Jesus Christe oure Lorde, who with thee, and the holy ghoste, liueth and reigneth, euer one God, worlde without ende. Amen.

Almightie and euerlasting GOD, wee bee taught by thy holy worde, that the heartes of Kynges are in thy rule and gouernaunce, and that thou doest dispose, and turne them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisedom: We humbly beseche thee, so to dispose and gouerne, the hart of Edward the sixt, thy seruant, our Kyng and gouernour, that in all his thoughtes, wordes, and workes, he maye euer seke thy honour and glory, and study to preserue thy people, committed to his charge, in wealth, peace and Godlynes: Graunt this, O mercifull father, for thy dere sonnes sake. Jesus Christ our Lorde. Amen.

VI. Then follows the Epistle.

The Collectes ended, the priest, or he that is appointed, shall reade the Epistle, in a place assigned for the purpose, saying. Epistle.

VII. Then is said a Gradual or Alleluia.

VIII. Then is said the Gospel.

The Epistle of sainct Paule, written in the Chapiter of to the

Gradual of 2 verses.

The Minister then shall reade the Epistle. Immediately after the Epistle ended, the priest, or one appointed to reade the Gospel, shall saie,

The holy Gospell, written in the Chapiter of

The Clearkes and people shall answere,

Glory be to thee, O Lorde.

The priest or deacon then shall reade the Gospel: After the Gospell ended, the Priest shall begin,

I beleue in one God.

The clerkes shall syng the rest.

The father almightie, maker of heauen and yearth, and of all thinges visible, and inuisible: and in one Lorde Jesu Christ, the onely begotten sonne of GOD, begotten of his father before all worldes, God of GOD, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, beeying of one substaunce with the father, by whom all thinges were made, who for us men, and for our saluacion, came doune from heauen, and was incarnate by the holy Ghoste, of the Virgin Mary, and was made manne, and was

Creed. Does not like it, leave to the Bishop.

Crucified also for us under Poncius Pilate, he suffered and was buried, and the thirde daye he arose again according to the scriptures, and ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hande of the father: and he shall come again with glory, to judge both the quicke and the dead.

And I beleue in the holy ghost, the Lorde and geuer of life, who procedeth from the father and the sonne, who with the father and the sonne together, is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophetes. And I beleue one Catholike and Apostolike Churche. I acknowledge one Baptisme, for the remission of synnes. And I loke for the resurrection of the deade; and the lyfe of the worlde to come. Amen.

Note from Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*, i. p. 28.

"Rightly," says Bona, "here a custom in unbroken continuity from the beginning of the Church has been preserved to our own days, that immediately after the Gospel, a sermon, homily, or treatise be delivered to the people. This sermon marks the end of the Mass of Catechumens: the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful is with the Offertory or the Creed, which, however, was

After the Creed shall folowe the Sermon or Homely, or some portiō of one of the Homleyes, as thei shalbe hereafter devided: wherein if the people bee not exhorted to the worthy receiving of the Holy Sacrament of the bodye and bloude of our sauior Christ: then shal the Curate geue this exhortaciō, to those y^{t} be minded to receive y^{e} same.[1]

Sermon—now or before introit.

Then shall folowe for the Offertory, one or mo, of these Sentences of holy scripture,

The Offertory to be disused:

"All that abomination to which all that

[1] See pp. 172, &c.

not in use with the Roman Church till the 11th or 12th century."

IX. Then the Offertory and the Prayer on the Oblations (for many centuries a secret prayer ending sec. X.).

Note from Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*, i. p. 29.

When the catechumens and penitents had withdrawn, the people used to give their oblations, bread and wine. While they were offering, first males then females, their gifts at the altar the singers used to sing verses of the Offertory or the Offertory.

to be song whiles the people doo offer, or els one of theim to be saied by the minister, immediatly afore the offeryng.

Let your light so shine before men, that they maye see your good woorkes, and glorify your father whiche is in heauen. Math. v.

Laie not up for yourselfes treasure upon the yearth, where the rust and mothe doth corrupt, and where theues breake through and steale: But laie up for yourselfes treasures in heauen, where neyther ru-te nor mothe doth corrupt, and where theues do not breake through nor steale. Math. vi.

Whatsoeuer you would that menne should do unto you, euen so do you unto them: for this is the Lawe and the Prophetes. Math. vii.

[As on p. 168.]

When there be Clerkes, thei shall syng one, or many of the sentences aboue written, accordyng to the length and shortnesse of the tyme, that the people be offering.

In the meane time, whyles the Clerkes do syng the Offertory, so many as are disposed, shall offer unto the poore mennes box euery one accordynge to his habilitie and charitable mynde. And at the offering daies appoynted, euery manne and woman shall paie to the Curate, the due and accustomed offerynges.

has gone before in the Mass has had to give way—the Offertory as it is called. In the midst of which the words of life and salvation are placed like the ark of the Lord in a temple full of idols side by side with Dagon.

"Let us keep what is pure and holy and so begin our Mass."

GREGORIANUS. GELASIANUS. ANGLICAN. 1st P. B. of Edward VI., 1549. LUTHERAN, 1523.

Then so manye as shalbe partakers of the holy Communion, shall tary still in the quire, or in some conuenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other syde. All other (that mynde not to receiue the said Holy Communion) shall departe out of the quire, except the ministers and Clerkes.

Then shall the minister take so much Bread and Wine as shall suffice for the persons appoynted to receiue the holy Communion, laiyng the breade upon the corporas, or els in the paten, or in some other comely thyng, prepared for that purpose. And putting ye wyne into the Chalice, or els in some faire or conueniente cup, prepared for that use (if the Chalice will not serue), puttyng therto a little pure and cleane water: and settyng both the bread and wyne upon the Alter: then the Priest shall saye.

Preparation of bread and wine.

THE CANON OF ACTION BEGINS HERE.

X. Which ended the Priest shall say aloud,
"For ever and ever. Amen."
The Lord be with you.
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts.
We lift them up unto the Lord.

The Lorde be with you.
Aunswere. And with thy spirite.
Priest. Lift up your heartes.
Aunswere. We lift them up unto the Lorde.

The Lord be with you, etc.

Lift up your hearts, etc.

Let us give thanks to our Lord God.

It is meet and right so to do.

XII. Verily meet and just, right and wholesome is it that we should at all times and in all places give thanks Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Everlasting God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, through Whom Angels praise, Dominions adore, Powers fear, the Heavens and the host of the Heavens and the Blessed Seraphim with harmonious exaltation unite to celebrate Thy Majesty. With whom we pray that our voices too may be admitted, while in suppliant confession we say Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory: Osanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

XIII. Wherefore, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord we humbly beseech and pray that Thou

Priest. Let us geue thankes to our Lorde God.

Aunswere. It is mete and right so to do.

It is very mete, righte and our bounden dutie that wee shoulde at all tymes, and in all places geue thankes to thee, O Lord, holy Father, almightie euerlasting God.

Here come the Proper Prefaces,
[as on p. 179.]

After whiche preface shal folowe immediatly,

Therfore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the companye of heauen, we laude and magnify thy glorious name, euermore praisyng thee, and saying,

Holy, holy, holy, Lorde God of Hostes: heauen and earth are full of thy glory: Osanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lorde: Glory to thee, O lorde in the highest.

This the Clerkes shall also syng.

When the Clerkes have dooen syngyng, then shall the Priest, or Deacon, turne hym to the people, and saye,

Let us praie for the whole state of Christes churche.

Then the Priest, turnyng hym to the Altar, shall saye or syng, playnly and distinctly, this prayer folowing:

GREGORIANUS.

wouldest accept and bless these ✠ gifts, these ✠ offerings, these ✠ holy undefiled sacrifices. Which we offer to Thee first of all on behalf of Thy Holy Catholic Church, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to keep it in peace, guard it, unite it, rule it, throughout the whole world together with our servant Pope (✠) and our Bishop (✠) and all the orthodox and the observers of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith.

GELASIANUS.

ANGLICAN. 1st P. B. of Edward VI., 1549.

Almightie and euerliuing GOD, whiche by thy holy Apostle haste taught us to make prayers and supplícacions, and to geue thankes for al menne: We humbly beseche thee most mercyfully to receiue these our praiers, which we offre unto thy diuine Maiestie, beseching thee to inspire cōtinually the uniuersal churche with the spirite of trueth, unitie, and concorde: And graunt that al they that do cōfesse thy holy name, maye agree in the trueth of thy holye worde, and liue in unitie and godly loue. Speciallye we beseche thee to saue and defende thy seruant Edwarde our Kyng, that under hym we maye be Godly and quietly gouerned. And graunt unto his whole coūsaile, and to all that he put in auctoritie under hym, that they maye truely and indifferently minister iustice, to the punishemente of wickednesse and vice, and to the maintenaunce of Goddes true religion and vertue. Geue grace (O heauenly father) to all Bishoppes, Pastors, and Curates, that thei maie bothe by their life and doctrine set furthe thy true and liuely worde, and rightely and duely administer thy holy Sacramentes: and to al thy people geue thy heauenly grace, that with meke heart and due reuerence they may heare and receiue thy holy worde, truely seruing thee in holynes and righteousnes all the dayes of their life; And we most hūbly beseche thee of thy goodnes (O Lorde) to coumfort and succour all them, whyche in thys transytory life

be in trouble, sorowe, nede, syckenes, or any other aduersitie.

XIV. *Remember, O Lord, thy servants and handmaids and all here present,* whose faith is known to Thee, for whom we offer to Thee or who offer to Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and all theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of salvation and safety, and pay their vows to Thee the Eternal God living and true.

As in Gregorian.

Remember also, oh Lord, the souls of thy servants and handmaids, faithful Catholics at rest in Christ, who have gone before us (✠ and ✠), who by their alms and confession pay their vows to the Eternal God living and true.

And especially we commend unto thy mercifull goodnes, this congregacion which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoracion of the most glorious death of thy sonne: And here we do geue unto thee moste high praise, and heartie thankes, for the wonderful grace and vertue, declared in all thy sainctes, from the begynning of the worlde: and chiefly in the glorious and moste blessed virgin Mary, mother of thy sonne Jesu Christe our Lorde and God, and in the holy Patriarches, Prophetes, Apostles and Martyrs, whose examples (o Lorde) and stedfastnes in thy fayth, and kepyng thy holy commaundementes, graunt us to folowe. We commend unto thy mercye (O Lorde) all other thy seruantes, which are departed hence from us, with the signe of faith, and nowe do reste in the slepe of peace:

XV. Making mention of, and *venerating the memory of, especially the glorious ever-virgin Mary, Mother of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, but also of*

As in Gregorian.

GREGORIANUS.

Thy blessed Apostles and martyrs Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddaeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Syxtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all Thy Saints, to whose merits and prayers grant, that in all things we may be defended by the aid of Thy protection; through Christ our Lord.

XVI. This offering therefore of us thy servants and of Thy whole family we beseech Thee, oh Lord, graciously to accept, and to dispose our days in thy peace, and to grant that we may be saved from eternal damnation and be numbered in the flock of Thine elect, through Christ our Lord.

XVII. Which offering we beseech Thee, oh Lord, that thou

GELASIANUS.

ANGLICAN. 1st P. B. of Edward VI., 1549.

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Graūt unto them, we beseche thee thy mercy, and euerlasting peace, and that, at the day of the generall resurreccion, we and all they which bee of the misticall body of thy sonne, may altogether be set on his right hand, and heare that his most ioyfull voyce: Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdom, whiche is prepared for you from the begynning of the worlde: Graunt this, O father, for Jesus Christes sake, our onely mediatour and aduocate.

O God heauenly father, which of thy tender mercie diddest geue thine only sonne Jesu Christ

wouldst vouchsafe to render ✠ blessed ✠ approved ✠ valid ✠ reasonable ✠ acceptable, that it may become to us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.

to suffre death upon the crosse for our redempcion, who made there (by his one oblacion once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifyce, oblacion, and satysfaccyon, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaund us, to celebrate a perpetuall memory of that his precious death, untyll his coming again: Heare us (o merciful father) we besech thee; and with thy holy spirite and worde, vouchsafe to bl✠esse and sanc✠tifie these thy giftes, and creatures of bread and wyne, that they maie be unto us the bodye and bloude of thy moste derely beloued sonne Jesus Christe.

XVIII. Who on the day before He suffered took Bread into His holy and venerable Hands and lifting His eyes to Heaven to Thee His Almighty Father, when He had given thanks, blessed and ✠ brake it, and gave it to His disciples: Take and eat of this all of you. This is My Body.

Who in the same nyght that he was betrayed: tooke breade, and when he had blessed, and geuen thankes: he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saiyng: Take, eate, this is my bodye which is geuen for you, do this in remembraunce of me.

Here the priest must take the bread into his hādes.

Who on the day before He suffered, took bread, and when He had given thanks brake it and gave it to his disciples saying Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you.

XIX. Likewise after supper He took this glorious Cup into His holy and venerable Hands and again when He had given thanks He blessed it and gave it to His disciples saying: Take

Likewyse after supper he toke the cuppe, and when he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, saiyng: drynk ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the newe Testament, whyche is shed for you and for many, for remission of synnes: do

Here the priest shall take the Cuppe into his hādes.

Likewise the cup after he supped, saying This is the cup of the new Testament in my Blood, which will be shed for you and

GREGORIANUS.	GELASIANUS.	ANGLICAN. 1st P. B. of Edward VI., 1549.	LUTHERAN, 1523.
and drink of it, all of you. This is my Blood of the New and eternal Testament, a mystery of faith which shall be shed for you and for many for remission of sins. Do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of Me.		this as oft as you shall drinke it, in remembrance of me.	for many for remission of sins. Do this as often as ye do it in remembrance of me. Amen.
XX. Wherefore, oh Lord, we Thy servants and Thy holy people having in remembrance of the Passion of Thy Son, Christ our Lord, and of His Resurrection from the dead, and of His glorious Ascension into the heavens offer to Thy Divine Majesty of Thy gifts and bounties a pure victim, a holy victim, a stainless victim, the holy Bread of eternal life, and the Cup of everlasting salvation, On which do Thou vouchsafe to look down with favour and grace and to accept them as Thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of Thy holy servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that which Thy High Priest Melchizedec offered, a holy sacrifice, a stainless victim.		*These wordes before rehersed are to be saied, turning still to the Altar, without any eleuacion, or shewing the Sacrament to the people.* Wherfore, O Lorde and heauenly father, accordyng to the Instytucyon of thy derely beloued sonne, our sauiour Jesu Christ, we thy humble seruauntes do celebrate, and make here before thy diuine Maiestie, with these thy holy giftes, the memoryall whyche thy sonne hath wylled us to make, hauyng in remembraunce his blessed passion, mightie resurreccyon, and gloryous ascencion, renderyng unto thee most hartie thankes, for the innumerable benefites procured unto us by the same, entierely desiryng thy fatherly goodnes, mercifully to accepte this our Sacrifice of praise and thankes geuing:	After the benediction let the Choir sing the Sanctus, and at the Blessed is He Who cometh let the bread and the cup be elevated in the manner used hitherto.

XXI. We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command them to be borne by the hands of Thy holy angel to Thine altar on high before the sight of Thy Divine Majesty, that whosoever of us have been partakers of this Altar may receive the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction, through Christ our Lord.

most humbly beseching thee to graunt that by the merits and death of thy soñe Jesus Christ, and through faith in his bloud, we and al thy whole Church may obteigne remission of our sinnes, and all other benefites of hys passyon. And here wee offre and present unto thee (oh Lord) oure selfe, oure soules and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, lively sacrifice unto thee: humbly beseching thee, that whosever shalbe partakers of thys holy Communion, maye worthely receiue the most precious body and bloude of thy sonne Jesus Christ: and bee fulfilled with thy grace and heauenly benediccion, and made one bodye with thy sonne Jesu Christ, that he maye dwell in them and they in hym.

XXII. Remember, oh Lord, Thy servants and handmaids (✠ and ✠) who have gone before us with the sign of the faith, and are at rest in the sleep of peace. To them and to all who rest in Christ we beseech Thee to grant a place of refreshment of light and peace. Through Christ our Lord.

XXIII. Also to us sinners Thy servants who hope in the multitude of Thy mercies, grant some part and fellowship with all Thy holy Apostles

And although we be unworthy (through our manyfolde synnes) to offer unto thee any Sacrifice: Yet we beseche thee to accepte thys our bounden dutie and service, and

GREGORIANUS.	GELASIANUS.	ANGLICAN. 1st P. B. of Edward VI., 1549.*	LUTHERAN, 1523.
and Martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthew, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Caecilia, Anastasia, and all Thy Saints. Into whose company we beseech Thee not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences to grant us admission. Through Christ our Lord. Through Whom, oh Lord, Thou dost create, sanctify ✠ bring to life ✠ bless and ✠ give to us all these gifts. Through Whom and with Whom and in Whom in the unity of the Holy Ghost all honour and glory be to Thee, oh Father Almighty, world without end. Amen.		commaunde these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the syght of thy dyuine Majestie; not waiyng our merites but pardoning our offences through Christe our Lord, by whome, and with whome in the unitie of the Holy Ghost: all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almightie, worlde without ende. Amen.	See Gregorian XXI.
XXIV. Let us pray. As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us we are bold to say "Our Father," etc., etc.		Let us praye. As our Saviour hath commaunded and taught us we are bolde to saye, Our Father, etc., etc.	After this the Lord's Prayer omitting the prayer libera nos, etc. with all the signs that are wont to be used over the host, and with the host over the cup, and let it not be broken

XXV. Deliver us, oh Lord, we beseech Thee from all evils past present and future by the intercession of Blessed and glorious Ever Virgin Mary Mother of God, and Thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and Andrew; also the blessed Dionysius, Thy Martyr and Pope, with his fellows Rusticus and Eleutherius, and the blessed Chlodoald Thy Confessor and all saints: Vouchsafe to grant us peace in our days and assisted by the aid of Thy mercy may we be free from sin and secure from all alarms through Thy Son Jesus Christ, Who liveth and reigneth God with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost. World without end. Amen.

The Peace of God be always with you.
R. And with thy spirit.

Notices.

After this the Priest communicates with all the people.

Collects.

Benediction.

Collects.

The peace of the Lord be alwaye with you. And with thy spirite.

Christ our Pascall lambe is offered up for us, once for al, when he bare our sinnes in hys bodye upon the crosse, for he is the very Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the worlde, wherfore let us kepe a joyfull and holy feast with the Lorde.

nor mixed with the cup. But immediately after the Lord's Prayer, be said The peace of the Lord, etc.

Then let him communicate himself and then the people, the choir meanwhile singing the Agnus dei.

* The Communion Service will be found in the Second Prayer Book, pp. 177, &c., points of variation being noted.

APPENDIX II

RUBRICS BEFORE AND AFTER COMMUNION IN THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK, TOGETHER WITH [1] ONE OF THE TWO EXHORTATIONS

Rubrics before the Communion.

THE SUPPER OF THE LORDE AND THE HOLY COMMUNION, commonly called the Masse.

So many as intende to bee partakers of the Holy Communion, shall sygnifie their names to the Curate, ouer night: or els in the morning, afore the beginning of Matins, or immediately after.

And if any of those be an open and notorious euill liuer, so that the congregacion by him is offended, or haue doen any wrong to his neighbours by worde or dede: The Curate shall call hym, and advertise hym, in any wise not to presume to the lordes table, untill he haue openly declared hymselfe to haue truly repented, and amended his former naughtie life: and that he haue recompensed the parties, whom he hath dooen wrong unto, or at the least bee in full purpose so to doo, as sone as he conueniently maie.

The same ordre shall the curate use, with those betwixt whom he perceiueth malice, and hatred to reigne,

[1] The other will be found in the Second Prayer Book, p. 172. Both follow the Sermon and precede the Offertory.

not suffering them to bee partakers of the Lordes table, untill he knowe them to bee reconciled. And yf one of the parties so at variaunce, be content to forgiue from the botome of his harte all that the other hath trespaced against hym, and to make amendes for that he hymself hath offended: and the other partie will not bee perswaded to a godly unitie, but remaigne still in his frowardnes and malice: The Minister in that case, ought to admit the penitent persone to the Holy Communion, and not hym that is obstinate.

Upon the daie and at the tyme appoincted for the ministracion of the holy Communion, the Priest that shal execute the holy ministery, shall put upon hym the vesture appoincted for that ministracion, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a vestement or Cope. And where there be many Priestes, or Decons, there so many shalbee ready to helpe the Priest, in the ministracion, as shalbee requisite: And shall haue upon them lykewise the vestures appointed for their ministery, that is to saye, Albes with tunacles. Then shall the Clerkes syng in Englishe for the office, or Introite, (as they call it,) a Psalme appointed for that daie.

Rubrics at the end of the Communion.

Upon wednesdaies and frydaies the English Letany shalbe said or song in all places, after suche forme as is appoynted by the kynges maiesties Iniunccions: Or as is or shal bee otherwyse appoynted by his highnes. And thoughe there be none to cõmunicate with the Prieste, yet these dayes (after the Letany ended) the Priest shall put upon him a playn Albe or surplesse, with a cope, and say al thinges at the Altar (appoynted to be sayed at the celebracyon of the lordes supper),

untill after the offertory. And then shall adde one or two of the Collectes aforewritten, as occasion shall serue by his discrecion. And then turning him to the people shall let them depart with the accustomed blessing. And the same order shall be used all other dayes whensoeuer the people be customably assembled to pray in the churche, and none disposed to communicate with the Priest.

Lykewyse in Chapelles annexed and all other places, there shalbe no celebracion of the Lordes supper, except there be some to communicate with the Priest. And in suche Chapelles annexed where y• people hath not bene accustomed to pay any holy bread, there they must either make some charitable prouision for the bering of the charges of the Communion, or elles (for receyuying of the same) resort to theyr Parish Churche.

For aduoyding of all matters and occasyon of discencyon, it is mete that the breade prepared for the Communion, bee made, through all thys realme, after one sort, and fashion, that is to say, unleauened, and rounde, as it was afore, but without all maner of printe, and somethyng more larger and thicker than it was, so that it may be aptly deuided in diuers pieces: and every one shall be deuided in two pieces, at the leaste, or more, by the discrecion of the minister, and so distributed. And menne muste not thynke lesse to be receyued in parte then in the whole, but in eache of them the whole body of our sauiour Jesu Christ.

And forsomuche as the Pastours and Curates within thys realme shal continually fynd at theyr costes and charges in theyr cures, sufficient Breade and Wyne for the holy Communion (as oft as theyr Parishioners shalbe

disposed for theyr spiritual comfort to receyue the same) it is therefore ordred, that in recompense of suche costes and charges, the Parishioners of euerye Parishe shall offer euery Sunday, at the tyme of the Offertory, the juste valour and price of the holy lofe (with all suche money, and other thinges as were wont to be offered with the same) to the use of theyr Pastours and Curates, and that in suche ordre and course, as they were woont to fynde and pay the sayd holy lofe.

Also, that the receiuing of the Sacrament of the blessed body and bloud of Christ, may be most agreable to the institucion therof, and to the usage of the primitiue Churche: In all Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, there shal alwaies some Communicate with the Prieste that ministreth. And that the same may bee also obserued euery where abrode in the countrey: Some one at the least of that house in euery Parishe to whome by course after the ordinaunce herein made, it apperteyneth to offer for the charges of the Communiō, or some other whom they shall prouide to offer for them, shall receiue the holy Communion with the Prieste: the whiche may be the better doen, for that they knowe before, when theyr course commeth, and maie therefore dispose thēselues to the worthie receiuyng of the Sacramente. And with hym or them who doeth so offre the charges of the Communion; all other, who be then Godly disposed thereunto, shall lykewyse receiue the Communion. And by this meanes the Minister hauyng alwaies some to communicate with him, maie accordingly solempnise so high and holy misteries, with all the suffrages and due ordre appointed for the same. And the Priest on the weke daie shall forbeare to celebrate the Communion, excepte he haue some that will communicate with hym.

Furthermore, euery man and womā to be bound to heare and be at the diuine service, in the Parishe churche where they be resident, and there with deuout prayer, or Godlye silence and meditacion, to occupy themselues. There to paie their dueties, to communicate once in the yeare at the least, and there to receiue, and take all other Sacramentes and rites, in this booke appoynted. And whosoeuer willyngly upon no iust cause, doeth absent themselues, or doeth ungodly in the Parishe churche occupie thēselues; upon proffe therof, by the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the Realme to bee excommunicate, or suffre other punishment, as shall to the Ecclesiastical iudge (according to his discrecion) seme conuenient.

And although it bee redde in aunciente writers, that the people many yeares past receiued at the priestes hādes the Sacrament of the body of Christ in theyr owne handes, and no commaundemēt of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuche as they many tymes conueyghed the same secretelye awaye, kept it with them, and diuersly abused it to superstición and wickednes: lest any suche thynge hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformitie might be used, throughoute the whole Realme: it is thought conuenient the people commōly receiue the Sacramēt of Christes body, in their mouthes, at the Priestes hande.

The Second Exhortation

In Cathedral churches or other places, where there is dailie Communion, it shall be sufficient to read this exhortacion aboue written, once in a moneth. And in parish churches, upon the weke daies it may be lefte unsayed.

And if upon the Sunday or holydaye the people be negligent to come to the Communion: Then shall the Priest earnestly exhorte his parishioners, to dispose themselfes to the receiuing of the holy communion more diligētly, saiyng these or like wordes unto thē.

Dere frendes, and you especially upon whose soules I haue cure and charge, on next, I do intende by Gods grace, to offre to all suche as shalbe godlye disposed, the moste comfortable Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, to be taken of them in the remembraunce of his moste fruitfull and glorious Passyon: by the whiche passion we have obteigned remission of our synnes, and be made partakers of the kyngdom of heauen, whereof wee bee assured and asserteigned, yf wee come to the sayde Sacrament, with hartie repentaunce for our offences, stedfast faithe in Goddes mercye, and earnest mynde to obeye Goddes will, and to offende no more. Wherefore our duetie is, to come to these holy misteries, with moste heartie thankes to bee geuen to almightie God, for his infinite mercie and benefites geuen and bestowed upon us his unworthye seruantes, for whom he hath not onely geuen his body to death, and shed his bloude, but also doothe vouchsaue in a Sacrament and Mistery, to geue us his sayed bodye and bloud to feede upon spiritually. The whyche Sacrament beyng so Diuine and holy a thyng, and so comfortable to them whiche recyue it worthilye, and so daungerous to them that wyll presume to take the same unworthely: My duetie is to exhorte you in the meane season, to consider the greatnes of the thing, and to serche and examine your owne consciences, and that not lyghtly nor after the maner of dissimulers with God: But as they whiche shoulde come to a moste

Godly and heauenly Banket, not to come but in the mariage garment required of God in scripture, that you may (so muche as lieth in you) be founde worthie to come to such a table. The waies and meanes thereto is,

First, that you be truly repentaūt of your former euill life, and that you confesse with an unfained hearte to almightie God, youre synnes and unkyndnes towardes his Maiestie committed, either by will, worde or dede, infirmitie or ignoraunce: and that with inwarde sorowe and teares you bewaile your offences, and require of almightie God mercie and pardon, promising to him (from the botome of your hartes) thamendment of your former lyfe. And emonges all others, I am commaunded of God, especially to moue and exhorte you to reconcile yourselfes to your neighbors, whom you haue offended, or who hath offended you, putting out of your heartes al hatred and malice against them, and to be in loue and charitie with all the worlde, and to forgeue other, as you woulde that god should forgeue you. And yf any mā haue doen wrōg to any other: let him make satisfaccion, and due restitucion of all landes and goodes, wronfully taken awaye or withholden, before he come to Goddes borde, or at the least be in ful minde and purpose so to do, as sone as he is able, or els let him not come to this holy table, thinking to deceyue God, who seeth all mēnes hartes. For neither the absolucion of the priest, can any thing auayle them, nor the receiuyng of this holy sacrament doth any thing but increase their damnacion. And yf there bee any of you, whose conscience is troubled and greued in any thing, lackyng comforte or counsaill, let him come to me, or to some other dyscrete and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confesse and open his synne and griefe secretly, that he may receiue suche ghostly

counsaill, aduyse, and comfort, that his conscience maye be releued, and that of us (as of the ministers of GOD and of the churche) he may receiue comfort and absolucion, to the satisfaccion of his mynde, and auoyding of all scruple and doubtfulness: requiryng suche as shalbe satisfied with a generall confession, not to be offended with them that doe use, to their further satisfaying, the auriculer and secret confession to the Priest: nor those also whiche thinke nedefull or conuenient, for the quietnes of their awne cōsciences, particuliarly to open their sinnes to the Priest: to bee offended with them that are satisfied, with their humble confession to GOD, and the generall confession to the churche. But in all thinges to folowe and kepe the rule of charitie, and euery man to be satisfied with his owne conscience, not iudgyng other mennes myndes or consciences; where as he hath no warrant of Goddes word to the same.

APPENDIX III

ORDER OF HOLY COMMUNION

(From Day's translation of Herman's "Consultatio Pia,"[1] 1548, fol. 201)

How the Lord's Supper must be celebrated.

WHEN the people be come together unto this ministration, forasmuch as it is agreeable to religion that as often as we appear before the Lord before all things we should acknowledge and confess our sins, and pray for remission of the same, the minister, which shall administer the Lord's Supper, when he shall come to the Altar, shall make a Confession in the name of the whole Congregation, and that in the Douche tongue, which all may understand after this sort.

Almighty, everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Maker of all things, the Judge of all men, we acknowledge and we lament that we were conceived and born in sins, and that therefore we be prone to all evils and abhor from all good things, that we have also transgressed Thy holy commandments without end and measure, in despising Thee and Thy Word, in dis-

[1] Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, published a form of Public Prayer under this title. An English translation of it was published in 1547, and an amended translation in 1548. It is often said that the Communion Office of the First Prayer Book was largely influenced by this book. To enable the reader to judge within what limits this statement is true the translation is here published. It should be compared with Appendix I. It will be seen how closely the First Prayer Book followed the Mass as contrasted with Herman's work.

trusting Thy aid, in trusting ourselves and the world, in wicked studies and works wherewith we have most grievously offended Thy Majesty, and hurted our neighbours. Therefore we have more and more buried ourselves into eternal death. And we are sorry for it with all our hearts, and we desire pardon of Thee for all the things that we have committed against Thee. We call for Thy help against sin dwelling in us and Satan the kindler thereof. Keep us, that we do nothing hereafter against Thee, and cover the wickedness that remaineth in us with the righteousness of Thy Son, and repress it in us with Thy Spirit, and at length purge it clean out. Have mercy upon us, most gentle Father, through Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Give and increase Thy Holy Spirit in us, Who may teach us to acknowledge our sins truly and thoroughly, and to be pricked with a lively repentance of the same, and with true faith to apprehend and retain remission of them in Christ our Lord, that dying to sin daily more and more, we may serve and please Thee in a new life, to the glory of Thy name and edifying of Thy Congregation. For we acknowledge that Thou justly requirest these things of us, wherefore we desire to perform the same. Vouchsafe Thou, O Father of Heaven, Which hast given us a will, to grant us also that we may study to those things with all our hearts which pertain to our health through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Here the Gospel, John iii.

God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that all which believe in Him should have life everlasting.

Or, 1 Timothy i.

This is a sure saying, and worthy of all embracing, that Jesus Christ came into this world to save sinners.

Or, John iii.

The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hands; he that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life.

Or, Acts x.

All the Prophets bear witness unto Christ, that all that believe in Him receive remission of their sins, through Him.

Or, 1 John ii.

My little children, if any have sinned, we have a just Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ, and He is an Atonement for our sins.

When the pastor hath shown to the people one of the said Gospels, he shall say further.

Because our Blessed Lord hath left this power to His Congregation, that it may absolve them from sins, and restore them into favour of the Heavenly Father, which being repentant for their sins do truly believe in Christ the Lord, I, the minister of Christ and the Congregation, declare and pronounce remission of sins, the favour of God, and life everlasting, through our Lord Jesus Christ, to all them which be sorry for their sins, which have true faith in Christ the Lord and desire to approve themselves unto Him.

After this where Clerks or scholars shall be, they shall sing some-what in Latin taken out of the Holy Scriptures, for an entrance or beginning. After that they shall sing Kirie Eleson, *and* Gloria in Excelsis, *and because that* Kirie Eleson *is a common prayer of the Congregation, and* Gloria in Excelsis *is also a common thanksgiving, let the people sing both in Douch.*

After this song he that shall execute the Holy ministry shall recite a Collect in Douch singing or reading, but so that all the people may well understand it. For therefore the minister speaketh this sentence to the people, The Lord be with you, *and,* Let us pray, *and the people answereth,* And with thy spirit, *signifying thereby that they also pray together with the Minister. For so Chrysostom interpreteth this saying.*

And because this must be a common prayer of the whole Congregation, it is called a Collect, for that that a prayer gathered of the wishes of all that be present is offered to God by the minister, or because it is a prayer of the Congregation gathered together, and praying together unto the Lord. But the purer Collects and more consonant to the Holy Scriptures must be chosen out, of which sort we will cause some to be set forth. After the Collects, there shall follow according to the custom a lesson of an Epistle, which shall be read in such a place, (the reader turning his face to the people) that it may be heard and understanded of the whole congregation. Wherefore it shall be also read in Douche, because that lesson pertaineth to the instruction and admonition of the people.

After the Epistle, where Clerks be, let Alleluia be sung in Latin, or a graile or some sequence, if they have any pure, and some Douch song. Then let the Gospel be read in Douch to the people, which reading an interpretation and ordinary sermon shall follow forthwith, and after the sermon a prayer for all states of men and necessities of the Congregation after this sort.

Almighty, everlasting God, and merciful Father which by Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and His Apostles commandest that we should come before Thee in His

name, and didst promise, that Thou wouldest mercifully give us whatsoever agreeing together we should ask in His name, we beseech Thee by Thy Son our only Saviour, first that Thou wilt mercifully forgive us all our sins and iniquities which we acknowledge and confess here in Thy sight, and that Thou wilt favourably turn away from us through the Blood and satisfaction of Thy Son our Mediator the most just wrath, which we have deserved through so manifold transgressions of Thy commandments. And confirm Thou in us Thy Holy Spirit, that we may wholly give over ourselves to the obedience of Thee now and ever, that calling upon Thee always for ourselves and for other we may obtain Thy grace and help.

We pray Thee therefore chiefly for Thy Congregations; deliver them from all wolves, hired servants, which either spoil and devour Thy sheep miserably, or traitorously forsake them and destroy them, and proudly rejoice and delight themselves in their destruction. Give them good and faithful ministers and pastors, and preserve the same. Encrease Thy Holy Spirit in all persons which be at this holy ministry, that therein they may faithfully serve Thee, and with the profit of Thy flock, that Thy scattered sheep may through Thy Gospel be gathered to Thy dear Son, the high and only true Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ, from all straying either of errors or of sins, briefly, that they may be brought again to the true Communion of Him, that there may be one flock and one Shepherd.

So we pray Thee also, Holy Father, for Thy servants the ministers of civil governances, for our most gracious Emperor and King, for all other kings, princes and magistrates. And especially we pray Thee for our most rev. Archbishop and right excellent Prince, for his Council and officers, for the Council and Magistrates of

this City. Give all these Thy Holy Spirit, that they may truly know and embrace Christ Thy Son, to whom Thou hast given all power and all judgment in Heaven and in earth, and that according to Thy strength they may so serve His kingdom, that they may so govern us, which are indeed subjects to them, but be the creatures of Thy hand, and the sheep of Thy pastures, that in this place, and everywhere we may live a peaceable and quiet life with all godliness and honesty, and being delivered from all fear of our enemies we may serve Thee in all righteousness and holiness.

We pray also, Heavenly Father, for all those which yet pertain not to Thy kingdom, cause the light of Thy Gospel to shine unto them also, draw them to Thy Son our Saviour, that believing in Him they be saved with us. And as touching them whom Thou hast somewhat drawn unto Him, so that they grant Him to be their Saviour, and the Saviour of all men, but nevertheless have not yet bound themselves to all obedience of the Gospel, encrease in these the faith and knowledge of Thy Son, which Thou hast given them, that they may thoroughly give over their selves unto the obedience of Him and of His Congregation, and that they may magnify Thee in the same throughout all their life with godly sayings and doings.

Furthermore, we pray Thee Father, merciful God, the great comforter of the afflicted, for all those, whom Thou chastisest with the Cross and some affliction, and exercisest unto patience with poverty, exile, fetters, infamy, diseases, and other calamities and mischances. Grant to them that they may acknowledge Thy fatherly and medicinable hand, under which they may humble themselves with all their hearts. Comfort their minds with faith and confidence of Thy mercy, which moderateth all things, yea, even adversities for the health of Thine,

and deliver them from all evils. Grant to us also, that through their correction and punishment, we may acknowledge that we have deserved things much more grievous, that we may amend our lives in time, before worse plagues happen unto us. Last of all we pray thee, eternal God, Heavenly Father, for us, which here come together in Thy sight, to Thy word, prayer and Sacraments, lighten the eyes of our mind, grant us to consider with perfect faith that we have a nature corrupted from the beginning, that our flesh and blood cannot enjoy Thy kingdom, but only commit sin and deserve eternal death, and encrease the same destruction with daily sins, and that Thou, most merciful Father, of Thy unmeasurable mercy didst look upon us, and sendedst into this world Thy eternal Word, Thy Son, our Flesh and Brother, and that He might deliver us by His death from this our destruction, and restore us to Thy image, and praise of Thy name, that Thou deliveredst Him to the Cross and death, and that He gladly offered Himself unto Thee in the Cross for our sins, and satisfied for the same, to love and pity of us; that He reconciled us unto Thee, and moreover that He offereth unto us His Body and Blood to be meat and drink, that we may live in Him and He in us. Grant, Heavenly Father, that we may consider and apprehend all these things with true and lively faith now and throughout all our lives, that denying ourselves we may utterly refuse the foolish and blind judgment of our reason and repress naughty and noisome lusts, and wholly give over ourselves to Him, Thy dear Son, our Lord, and only Saviour and restorer, that we seek and receive comfort in all things, all help, aid and safeguard in Him only, in His death, Cross and Resurrection. Now also let us receive His Holy Body and Blood with sincere faith and all thankfulness, and let us ever magnify Him, and Thee in Him, for all Thy exceed-

ing benefits, which Thou hast given in making, governing, and restoring us, for the Incarnation, Passion, and Death of Thy Son, whereby He purged our sins and reconciled us unto Thee, for His Resurrection, Ascension into Heaven, and heavenly governance, whereby He restored us unto Thee, and moveth and reneweth us unto all Thy pleasure.

Finally, for this most ample benefit that He here delivereth Himself unto us to be meat and drink unto eternal life, that so Thy divine name may be daily more and more sanctified by us, and in us, Thy kingdom may be established and spread abroad by us unto other, that all things may be done among us in the earth according to Thy will with such fervency and cheerfulness, as they be done in Heaven. And that these things may be done in us, give us also our daily bread, all necessary things for our bodies' prosperous health and peace, that we may enjoy these things unto the glory of Thy name. And forgive us our debts and sins which we daily commit, and mercifully pardon us of the punishments which we have deserved, as we also, in the sight of Thy Majesty, do heartily and gladly forgive all them which have offended us. And suffer not our tentator, our old enemy, which studieth ever to lead us from Thee and Thy Word, to overthrow us at any time with his tentations. But deliver us from him and all evil, for Thou only art our God and Father, Thine is the kingdom, the power and glory, for ever. Amen.

Another and a short form of Praying.

Merciful God, Heavenly Father, which commandedst us to come together in Thy name, and in the name of Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour Christ, and through the same our only Mediator, to pray Thee for all things the which we desire for ourselves, and for other, adding a

most ample promise, that we should obtain whatsoever we should ask of Thee, trusting in this Thy commandment and promise, we stand in the sight of Thy divine Majesty, we pray and beseech Thee, in the name of Thy dear Son our only Saviour, that Thou wilt forgive us all our iniquities and sins, that Thou wilt renew our hearts with Thy Holy Spirit, and stir up and kindle the same in Thy Son Christ, and that for all the necessities of Thy Congregation, and of all men we may call upon Thee, and whatsoever is good for us unto the glory of His name.

We pray Thee then chiefly for Thy Congregations. Deliver and preserve them from all those ministers whom Thou hast not sent, send them such ministers as with all faithfulness and diligence will seek Thy scattered sheep, and bring them to Christ our Lord, their only good Shepherd, and will study to feed them faithfully under Him, that all ungodliness, heresies, sects, all naughty doctrines and perverse service of God may be taken away, and that in the unity of true faith and knowledge of Thy Son, we may grow and go forward to all things that please Thee.

So we pray Thee also for the Emperor, for our King, for all kings, princes and common powers and officers, and especially for our most Rev. Archbishop, for his Councillors and officers, for the Council and Commonalty of this City. Grant that all these may execute their office according to Thy Will, and (that) they may turn away all noisome things from their subjects, and procure and maintain all good things that being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we may serve Thee with a quiet mind in all holiness and righteousness.

We pray, furthermore, merciful Father, for all men, as Thou wilt be the Saviour of all men, draw them to Thy Son which yet pertain not to Him, and grant that they whom Thou hast drawn to Him already, may grow

and be confirmed daily more and more in the knowledge and love of Him.

We pray also for them whom Thou chastisest with sundry miseries and afflictions for an example unto us, that Thou wilt comfort them and deliver them from all evils, and grant us that we may diligently regard Thy fatherly nurture, which Thou settest before us in them, considering that we have deserved grievouser things, that in time we may judge and amend ourselves, that it be not needful that we be corrected and condemned of Thee.

Grant also to us all which here in Thy sight come together in Thy Word, prayer, alms, and divine Sacraments, that we truly come together only in Thy name, and in the name of Thy dear Son, that we may take hold of Thy divine law and Holy Gospel, with true faith, that dying daily more and more to ourselves, we may wholly give over ourselves to Thy dear Son, our only Saviour, who only through His stripes and most bitter death hath redeemed us from sins and eternal damnation, hath restored us to Thy favour through His Resurrection and Heavenly kingdom, that called us unto Himself into His Congregation, and hath planted us into Himself, unto everlasting life, and made us His own members, that we should live more and more in Him and He in us, that Thy holy name may be more largely sanctified by us in all our life, and all our doings, that Thy kingdom may be amplified by us, and in other, that at length all things may be done among us upon earth with such promptness and cheerfulness, as they be done in Heaven, And for this purpose, that we may wholly live and serve unto Thee, give us also our daily bread, &c., as in the prayer before.

After this solemn prayer let the whole Congregation sing the Creed. For this Confession of our faith, when

the Gospel is heard and declared, ought to be done of right by all men commonly, as all equally heard the Gospel and the declaration thereof.

And because no man can hear the Gospel with faith and know and consider out of the same how great love and gentleness God hath showed towards us in that, that He gave us His Son and all things with Him, which shall not out of this faith wholly give over and bind himself to our Lord Jesus Christ, this thing followeth also out of the nature of true faith, that the faithful study to declare this binding of themselves to the obedience of Christ and thankfulness of their mind for so great goodness of God towards themselves, which at that time they more earnestly remember with holy oblations for Christ, being needy in His little ones. Therefore while the Creed is in singing, let the faithful offer their free oblations, every man according to the blessing which he hath received of the liberal and bounteous hand of God.

To which office of faith and godliness the pastors and teachers shall diligently exhort the people, teaching them that these oblations ought to follow the confession of faith and prayer even by the very nature of true religion, neither can be absent from the same, when we want not wherewith to declare this liberality. And that this work of religion may be conveniently done, and rightly commended to the faithful, we will that there be some notable place appointed in every temple, not far from the Altar, which every man may comely go to, and where the faithful may offer their oblations openly before the whole Congregation. Which after that the Sacrament is ended, the officers of the holy treasure shall gather together, and shall lay the same up in the treasury, the Congregation looking upon them.

It was the manner of the Old Church, and that taken out of God's Word, that after the preaching of the

Gospel, before the ministration of the Sacrament should begin, not only those should be commanded to go out of the temple, which were not admitted into the Congregation, nor pertained thereunto, but they also which were yet repentant, and not reconciled to the Congregation with open absolution of sins. Therefore, because this discipline was taught of the Lord Himself, and ought of right to be called again into the Congregation, the pastors shall diligently and often exhort those which live in such sins as be against their conscience, that they leave them and turn themselves with all their hearts unto the Lord. And after that they be restored into the favour of God, and begin again to be the true disciples of the Lord, then let them be present at the Lord's Supper, and communicate.

But if any will not suffer themselves to be brought thereunto, and will continue in their sins with so great contempt of God and His Christ, let the Preachers declare to such that they may not be present at the Lord's Holy Supper, and if they take upon them to be present, that they do despite unto Christ, and provoke upon themselves the most grievous judgment of God. As for other, which live not with an evil conscience, and yet receive not the Sacrament with other, or seldom receive it, the pastor must often warn them, that it pertaineth to the duty of a Christian man to be often partaker of the Lord's board, and so to feed and strengthen his faith, and to witness the same unto the Congregation to the edification of many, seeing that God hath instituted this most holy exercise of religion for this, that they might thereby be established and enflamed in faith and study of godliness. Wherefore we see that they which neglect so great a benefit of God become daily colder in all godliness and religion. For they grievously offend God through contempt of His bounteousness, and they hurt

the Congregation very sore with that evil example, and moreover they make themselves guilty of the Lord's Body and Blood, abhoring this meat and drink of everlasting life, so irreligiously and so unthankfully.

But forasmuch as both the knowledge of this mystery, and moreover all the discipline of the Congregation is so much gone out of use, and thereof cometh so great weakness of the very faithful, the pastors must restore to the people the knowledge and enstitution of so great mysteries with convenience and timely admonition, and not trouble any man with untimely rigorousness, as we admonished before. For first the sheep of Christ, so miserably scattered and diseased, must be fully brought to Christ and be healed, before that any rigorous discipline be restored and exercised among them. But howsoever the rest be handled in the Congregation at this time, they nevertheless that shall be admitted to the Communion, as soon as they have made their oblations, must go together to that place that shall be appointed unto them, nigh to the Altar. For in every temple there must some place be appointed nigh the Altar for them that shall communicate, according to the opportunity and fitness of every temple. They then which shall be admitted to the Communion of the Lord's board shall stand in that place, the men in their proper place, and the women in their place, and there they shall give thanks, and pray religiously with the pastor. The giving of thanks shall be handled after the accustomed manner, but in Douch, that the people universally may give thanks, as both the example, and the commandment of the Lord requireth, and also the Old Church observed.

The Priest. The Lord be with you.
The People. And with thy spirit.

The Priest. Lift up your hearts.
The People. We have unto the Lord.
The Priest. Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.
The People. It is meet and right.

The Priest.

It is verily a thing, worthy, right, meet and wholesome that we give thanks unto Thee always and everywhere, that we praise and magnify Thee, Lord Holy Father, Almighty, everlasting God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, by Whom Thou madest us of nothing unto Thine image, and hast appointed all other creatures to our uses, and whereas we through the sin of Adam sliding from Thee were made Thine enemies, and therefore subject to death and eternal damnation, Thou of Thine infinite mercy and unspeakable love didst send the same Thy Son, the eternal Word, into this world, Who through the Cross and death delivered us from sins and the power of the Devil, and brought us again into Thy favour by His Holy Spirit, whom He sent to us from Thee, and gave His Body and Blood to be the food of a new and eternal life, that being more confirmed through the trust of Thy mercy and love, we should ever go forward to all that, that is Thy pleasure, by renewing and sanctifying of ourselves, and that we should glorify and exalt Thee here and evermore in all our words and deeds and sing unto Thee without end, with all Thy holy angels and beloved children.

After these things Sanctus shall be sung, where Clerks be, in Latin, but of the people in Douch, one side answering the other thrice of both parts. As for that, that is wont to be added—The Lord God of Hosts, and Benedictus, it shall be sung commonly of the whole Congregation, and therefore in Douch.

Straightway after this let the Priest sing the words of the Lord's Supper in Douch. Our Lord the night in which He was delivered, &c. But these words must be sung of the Priest with great reverence and plainly, that they may be well understanded of all men. And the people shall say to these words, Amen. Which all the Old Church observed, and the Greeks do yet observe the same. For the whole substance of this Sacrament is contained in these words. And it consisteth altogether in the true understanding and faith of these words, that the Sacrament be wholesomely administered and received.

When the people then have answered, Amen, *the Priest shall add.* Let us pray.

Our Father, which art in Heaven. &c.

To which prayer of the Lord, the people shall say, again, Amen.

The Priest. The Lord's peace be ever with you.

The People. And with thy spirit.

After this they which be admitted to the Communion, and do look for the same in their place, shall come to the Lord's board religiously—first men, and then women, and the whole Sacrament shall be given to them all, that they may be partakers of the Body and Blood of the Lord, receiving not only Bread, but also the Cup, even as He instituted it.

At the exhibition of the Body let the Parson say.

Take and eat to thy health the Body of the Lord, which was delivered for thy sins.

At the exhibition of the Cup.

Take and drink to the health the Blood of the Lord, which was shed for thy sins.

After the Communion let Agnus Dei *be sung both in Douch and in Latin, one side answering the other where clerks be. And then let this Douch song be sung.* Gotte sey gelobette. *Item* Jesus Christus Unser Heylant, *if the Communion shall give so much time and leisure.*

When the Communion is ended let the Priest sing, turning to the people.

The Lord be with you.
The People. And with thy spirit.
The Priest. Let us pray.

Almighty, everlasting God, we give thanks to Thy exceeding goodness, because Thou hast fed us with the Body of Thine only begotten Son, and given us His Blood to drink. We humbly beseech Thee, work in us with Thy Spirit, that as we have received this Divine Sacrament with our mouths, so we may also receive and ever hold fast with true faith thy grace, remission of sins and Communion with Christ Thy Son. All which things Thou hast exhibited unto us in these Sacraments, through our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son, which liveth and reigneth with Thee in unity of the Holy Ghost, very God and very Man for ever. Amen.

Another Thanksgiving.

We give Thee thanks, Father Almighty God, which hast refreshed us with the singular gift of Thy Body and Blood, we beseech Thy goodness that the same may help to confirm our faith in Thee, and to kindle mutual love among us, by the same our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

Last of all let the Pastor bless the people with these words.

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee, the Lord lighten His countenance upon thee, and have mercy on thee.

The Lord lift up His face upon thee, and settle thee in peace.

Or thus.

God have mercy on us and bless us, lighten His countenance upon us, and give us His peace. Amen.

Or thus.

God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost bless and keep us. Amen.

Or thus.

The blessing of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be with us and remain with us for ever. Amen.

But where Clerks be not, as in villages, there let all be read and sung in Douch. But let the songs be so moderated, as in every Congregation shall make to the edification of godliness.

But forasmuch as our Lord instituted this his Sacrament only for this purpose, that we should eat it and drink it for the remembrance of Him, and not that we should set it forth or carry it about to be looked upon, and forasmuch as sundry abuses be brought in, the true use of this Sacrament being over-passed, and so this Sacrament hath been drawn to horrible superstition and ungodliness; for the taking away both of this superstition and ungodliness, and also sundry scruples of the weak, and irreligious questions about these mysteries, the pastors and they that administer the Sacraments shall endeavour themselves, that as often as the Supper shall be administered, whether it be in the Congregation, or in private houses for sick folks, they compt the number of them certainly which shall communicate, that according to the same they

may receive pieces of bread and measure of wine. As for the remnants, after that the Communion is ended, let the pastors themselves receive them forthwith, and let them not keep the same, nor lay them up in any place, not carry them away, or set them forth to be beholden. For the Word of God, which saveth us, if we believe and obey it, and damneth perpetually, if we do not believe nor obey it, hath thus prescribed concerning His Sacraments. Take and eat. This is My Body. Take and drink. This is my Blood. *Therefore we must stand in this institution of Christ, and not institute a new usage without God's Word, about his most holy Sacrament. And because also that here the Lord's death must be preached, and the Communion of Him confirmed in us, that through Him we may be daily more crucified to the world, all worldly pomp must likewise be taken from this ministration, and all things must be so ordained and moderated, that they may help forth and adorn the preaching of the Cross and of the death of Christ.*

APPENDIX IV

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK

The Order for the Administracion of the Lordes Supper or Holye Communion.

¶ *So many as entend to be partakers of the holye Communion, shall sygnifye theyr names to the Curate ouer nyghte, or els in the morning, afore the begynninge of mornynge prayer, or immediatly after.*

¶ *And yf any of those be an open and notorious euyll lyuer, so that the congregacion by hym is offended, or haue done anye wronge to his neyghbours, by woord or deede: The Curate hauinge knowledge thereof, shall call hym, and aduertyse him, in anye wyse not to presume to the Lordes Table, untyll he haue openly declared hymselfe to haue truely repented, and amended hys former naughtye lyfe, that the congregacion maye thereby be satisfyed, whyche afore were offended: and that he haue recompensed the parties, whome he hathe done wronge unto, or at the least declare hym selfe to be in full purpose so to doe, as soone as he conueniently maye.*

¶ *The same ordre shall the Curate use with those, betwyxte whome he perceyueth malyce and hatred to rayne, not sufferinge them to be partakers of the LORDES table, untyll he know them to be reconcyled. And yf one of the parties so at variaunce be content to forgeue, from the bottome of hys hearte, all that the other hathe trespassed agaynst hym, and to make amendes for that*

he hym selfe hath offended : and the other partie wyll not be persvaded to a godly unitie, but remayne styll in hys frowardnesse and malyce : The Minister in that case, ought to admytte the penitent person to the holy Communion, and not hym that is obstinate.

¶ *The Table hauyng at the Communion tyme a fayre white lynnen clothe upon it, shall stande in the body of the Churche, or in the chauncell, where Morning prayer and Euening prayer be appoynted to bee sayd. And the Priest standing at the north syde of the Table, shall saye the Lordes prayer, with thys Collecte folowinge.*

ALMIGHTIE God, unto whom all heartes be open, all desyres knowen, and from whom no secretes are hyd : clense the thoughtes of our heartes by the inspiracion of thy holy spirit, that we maye perfectlye loue thee, and worthely magnify thy holy name : through Christ our Lorde. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shal the Priest rehearse distinctly all the Ten Commaundments : and the people knelyng, shal after euery Commaundment aske Gods mercy for theyr transgression of the same, after thys sorte.*

Ministre.

God spake these wordes, and sayd : I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt haue none other Goddes but me.

People.

Lord, haue mercye upon us, and encline our heartes to kepe thys lawe.

Ministre.

Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen ymage nor the likeness of any thyng that is in heauen aboue, or

in the yearthe beneath, nor in the water under the yearth. Thou shalte not bowe downe to them, nor worshyppe them: for I the Lord thy God am a gelous God, and visite the sinne of the fathers upon the children, unto the thyrde and fourth generacion of them that hate me, and shewe mercye unto thousandes in them that loue me and kepe my commaundments.

People.

Lord, haue mercye upon us, and encline our heartes to kepe thys lawe.

Ministre.

Thou shalte not take the name of the lord thy God in vayne: for the lord wil not holde him gilteles that taketh his name in vayne.

People.

Lord, haue mercye upon us, and encline our, &c.

Ministre.

Remembre that thou kepe holy the Sabboth day. Vi dayes shalt thou laboure and doe all that thou haste to doe, but the seuenth day is the sabboth of the lorde thy god. In it thou shalte doe no maner of woork, thou and thy sonne and thy daughter, thy man seruant, and thy maidseruant, thy Catel, and the straunger that is within thy gates: for in vi days the lord made heauen and earth, the Sea, and al that in them is, and rested the seuenth daye. Wherefore the Lorde blessed the seuenth day, and halowed it.

People.

Lorde, haue mercye upon us, and encline our, &c.

Ministre.

Honoure thy father and thy mother, that thy dayes may be long in the land which the lord thy god geueth thee.

People.

Lorde, haue mercye upon us, and encline our, &c.

Ministre.

Thou shalt doe no murther.

People.

Lorde, haue mercye upon us, and encline our, &c.

Ministre.

Thou shalt not commit adulterie.

People.

Lorde, haue mercye upon us, and encline our, &c.

Ministre.

Thou shalt not steale.

People.

Lorde, haue mercye upon us, and encline our, &c.

Ministre.

Thou shalt not beare false witnesse agaynste thy neighboure.

People.

Lorde, haue mercye upon us, and encline our heartes to kepe thys lawe.

Ministre.

Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house. Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours wife, nor his seruaunt, nor his maid, nor his oxe, nor his asse, nor any thing that is his.

People.

Lorde, haue mercye upon us, and write al these thy lawes in our heartes we beseche thee.

¶ *Then shall folowe the Collecte of the daye with one of these two Collectes folowynge for the king: the Priest standing up and saying.*

¶ Let us praye.

Priest.

ALMIGHTIE God, whose kingdome is euerlasting, and power infinite: haue mercye upon the whole congregacion, and so rule the heart of thy chosen seruant Edwarde the sixth, our king and gouernoure, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may aboue al thynges seek thy honoure and glory: and that we his subjectes (duely considering whose aucthoritie he hath) may faythfully serue, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, accordyng to thy blessed worde and ordinaunce: Throughe Jesus Christ our lord, who with thee, and the holy ghost, liueth, and reigneth euer one god, world without end. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTIE and euerlastyng god, we be taughte by thy holy word, that the heartes of kinges are in thy rule and gouernaunce, and that thou dooeste dispose and turne them as it semeth best to thy godly wysedome: we humbly beeseche thee, so to dispose and gouerne the heart of Edwarde the sixth, thy seruant, our king and

gouernoure that in al his thoughts, wordes, and workes, he may euer seke thy honor and glory, and study to preserue thy people committed to his charge in wealth, peace, and godlynes. Graunt this, O mercifull father, for thy deare sonnes sake Jesus Christ our Lorde. *Amen.*

¶ *Immediatly after the Collectes, the Priest shal reade the Epistle, begynnyng thus.*

The Epistle written in the. Chapter of.

And the Epistle ended, he shal saye the Gospel, beginning thus.

The Gospell wrytten in the. Chapter of.

And the Epistle and Gospel beyng ended, shal be sayd the Crede.

I BELIEUE in one God, the father almighty, maker of heauen and earth, and of al things visible, and inuisible: And in one lorde Jesu Christ, the only begotten sonne of God, begotten of his father before al worldes: God of goddes, light of lyght, very God of very God: begotten, not made, beeyng of one substaunce with the father, by whom al thynges were made: who for us men and for our saluacion, came downe from heauen, and was incarnate by the holy gost, of the virgyn Mary, and was made man: and was crucified also for us, under Poncius Pilate. He suffred and was buried, and the thyrd day he rose againe accordyng to the scriptures: and ascended into heauen, and sytteth at the ryght hand of the father. And he shal come agayne with glory, to judge both the quicke and the dead: Whose kingdome shal haue none ende. And I beleue in the holy gost, the Lord and geuer of lyfe, who procedeth from the father

and the sonne, who with the father and the sonne together, is worshipped and glorifyed, who spake by the Prophetes. And I beleue one Catholike and Apostolike churche. I acknowledge one Baptisme for the remission of synnes. And I loke for the resurreccion of the dead, and the life of the world to come. *Amen.*

After the Crede, if there be no sermon, shal follow one of the homelies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth by commune aucthoritie.

¶ *After suche sermon, homelie, or exhortacion, the Curate shal declare unto the people whether there be any holye dayes or fasting dayes the weke folowing: and earnestly exhort them to remembre the poore, saying one or moe of these Sentences folowing, as he thinketh most conuenient by his discrecion.*

Matt. v. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes, and glorifie your father whiche is in heauen.

Matt. vi. Laye not up for your selues treasure upon the earth, where the rust and moth doeth corrupt, and where theues break through and steal: But laye up for your selues treasure in heauen, where neither rust nor mothe doth corrupte, and where theues do not break through and steale.

Matt. vii. Whatsoeuer you woulde that men shoulde doe unto you, euen so do unto them: for thys is the lawe and the Prophetes.

Matt. vii. Not euery one that sayth unto me, lord, lord, shal entre into the kingdom of heauen, but he that doth the wil of my father which is in heauen.

Luke xix. Zache stode forth, and said unto the lord, Behold, lord, the half of my goodes I geue to the poore,

and if I haue done any wrong to any man, I restore fourefolde.

1 Cor. ix. Who goeth a warre fare at any tyme at his owne coste? Who planteth a vineyarde, and eateth not of the fruite thereof? Or who fedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke?

1 Cor. ix. If we have sowen unto you spiritual thinges, is it a great matter yf we shal reape your worldly thynges?

1 Cor. ix. Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy thynges, liue of the sacrifice? They which waite of the altare are partakers with the altare? Euen so hath the lord also ordained: that they whiche preache the gospel, should lyue of the gospel.

2 Cor. ix. He which soweth little, shal reape little, and he that soweth plenteously, shal reape plenteously. Let euery man do according as he is disposed in his hearte; not grudgeing, or of necessitie; for God loueth a cherefull geuer.

Gal. vi. Let him that is taught in the word, minister unto him that teacheth, in all good thinges. Be not deciued; God is not mocked. For whatsoeuer a man soweth, that shall he reape.

Gal. vi. Whyle we haue time, let us doe good unto al men, and specially unto them, which are of the household of faith.

1 Tim. vi. Godliness is greate riches, yf a man be contented with that he hath: For we brought nothing into the world, neither may we carry any thyng out.

1 Tim. vi. Charge them which are riche in this world, that they be ready to geue, and glad to distribute, laying up in store for themselues a good foundacion, againste the time to come, that they may attayne eternall lyfe.

Heb. vi. God is not unrighteous, that he wyll forgette

youre workes and labour, that procedeth of loue, which loue ye haue shewed for his names sake, which haue ministred unto saincts, and yet doe ministre.

Heb. xiii. To doe good, and to distribute, forgeat not, for with such sacrifices god is pleased.

1 John iii. Whoso hath this worldes good, and seeth his brother haue nede, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of god in him?

Job iii. Geue almose of thy goods, and turne neuer thy face from any poore man, and then the face of the lorde shall not be turned away from thee.

Job. iiii. Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, geue plenteously: Yf thou hast little, do thy dylygence gladly to geue of that little: for so gatherest thou thy selfe a good rewarde in the day of necessitie.

Prov. xix. He that hath pietie upon the poore lendeth unto the lord; and loke, what he laieth out, it shall be paied him again.

Ps. xli. Blessed be the man that prouideth for the sicke and nedy; the lord shal deliuer him, in the tyme of trouble.

¶ *Then shal the Churche wardens, or some other by them appointed, gather the deuocion of the people, and put the same into the poremens box: and upon the offering daies appointed, euery man and woman shall paye to the curate the due and accustomed offeringes: after whiche done the priest shal saye.*

Let us pray for the whole state of Christes Church militant here in earth.

ALMIGHTIE and euerliuing God, which by thy holye

Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to geue thankes for all menne. We humbly beseche thee most mercifullye to accepte our almose and to receiue these our prayers, which we offer unto thy diuine Majestie, beseching thee to inspire continually the uniuersall churche with the spirite of trueth, unitie, and concorde: And graunt that all they that dooe confesse thy holye name, may agree in the trueth of thy holy woord, and liue in unitie and godlye loue. We beseche thee also to saue and defende all Christian Kynges, Princes, and Gouernoures, and speciallye thy seruant, Edward our Kyng, that under hym we maye bee godlye and quietly gouerned: and graunt unto hys whole counsayle, and to all that bee putte in aucthoritie under hym, that they may truely and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickednes and vice, and to the mayntenaunce of God's true religion and vertue. Geue grace (O heavenly father) to all Bisshops, Pastours, and Curates, that they maye bothe by their lyfe and doctrine sette foorth thy true and lyuely woord, and rightly and duely administer thy holye Sacramentes: and to all thy people geue thy heauenly grace, and especiallye to thys congregacion here present, that with meke hearte and due reuerence they may heare and receiue thy holy woord, truely seruing thee in holynesse and ryghteousnesse all the dayes of theyr lyfe. And we most humbly beseche thee of thy goodnesse (O Lord) to coumfort and succour all them whiche in this transitory lyfe bee in trouble, sorowe, nede, sickenes, or anye other aduersitie: Graunt this, O father, for Jesus Christes sake, oure onely mediatour and aduocate. *Amen.*

Yf there be none almosen geuen unto the poore, then shal the wordes of acceptyng our almes be left out unsayde.

¶ *Then shal folowe this exhortacion at certain tymes when the Curate shal see the people negligent to come to the holy Communion.*[1]

We become together at this time, derely beloued brethren, to fede at the Lord's supper, unto the whiche in Goddes behalf I bydde you all that be here present, and beseche you for the Lord Jesus Christes sake, that ye will not refuse to come thereto, being so louingly called and bidden of god hymselfe. Ye knowe how greuouse and unkynde a thing it is, when a man hath prepared a riche feaste, decked his table with al kinde of prouision, so that there lacketh nothing but the geastes to sit down: and yet they which be called, without any cause most unthankefully refuse to come. Which of you, in such a case would not be moued? Who would not thynke a great injury and wrong done unto him? Wherfore, most derely beloued in Christ, take ye good hede, lest ye with drawyng yourselues from this holy supper, prouoke god's indignacion against you. It is an easy matter for a man to saye, I wyll not communicate, because I am otherwyse letted with worldly business: but suche excuses be not so easily accepted and allowed before god. If any man saye, I am a greuous sinner, and therefore am afraied to come: wherefore then doe you not repent and amend? When god calleth you, be you not ashamed to saye you will not come? When you shoulde returne to god, wyll you excuse your selfe, and saye that you be not ready? Consydre earnestly with yourselues howe lytle such feyned excuses shall auayl before God. They that refused the feaste in the gospell, because they had boughte a farme, or would trie theyr yokes of oxen, or because they were maried, were not so excused, but

[1] "After the Creed shall folowe," etc. See First Prayer Book, pp. 124 and 136.

counted unworthy of the heauenly feast. I for my part am here present, and according to mine office, I bidde you in the name of God, I call you in Christ's behalf, I exhort you, as you loue your owne saluacion, that ye wilbe partakers of thys holy Communion. And as the sonne of God did vouchesafe to yelde up hys soule by death upon the Crosse for youre health: euen so it is youre duetie to receyue the Communion together in the remembraunce of hys death, as he himself commaunded. Nowe if you wyll in nowyse thus doe, considre with youreselues howe greate injurye you do unto God, and howe sore punishemente hangeth ouer your heades for the same. And whereas ye offend god so sore in refusing this holy Banquet, I admonishe, exhort, and beseche you, that unto this unkindnes ye wyll not adde any more. Which thing ye shal doe, if ye stande by as gazers and lokers on them that doe communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselues. For what thing can this be accoumpted els, then a further contempt and unkindness unto god. Truely it is a great unthankfulnes to saye naye when ye be called: but the faulte is muche greater when men stand by, and yet wyll neither eate nor drynke this holy Communion with other. I pray you what can this be els, but euen to haue the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all: Take ye and eate. Take and drinke ye all of thys: doe this in remembraunce of me. With what face then, or with what countenance shal ye hear these words? What wil this be els but a neglecting, a despysing, and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather then you should so doe, depart you hence and geue place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseche you, pondre with yourselues from whom you depart: ye depart from the lordes table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquete of most heauenly

fode. These thynges if ye earnestly considre, ye shal by gods grace returne to a better mynd, for the obteyning whereof, we shal make our humble peticions while we shall receiue the holy Communion.

¶ *And some tyme shal be sayd this also, at the discrecion of the Curate.*

DERELY beloued, forasmuche as our duetie is to rendre to Almightie god our heauenly father most harty thankes, for that he hath geuen his sonne our sauioure Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual fode and sustenaunce, as it is declared unto us, as wel by goddes word as by the holy Sacramentes of his blessed body and bloud, the whiche being so comfortable a thyng to them whiche receiue it worthely, and so daungerous to them that wyl presume to receiue it unworthely : My duetie is to exhort you to consider the dignitie of the holy mistery, and the greate perel of the unworthy receiuing thereof, and so to searche and examine your own consciences, as you should come holy and cleane to a most Godly and heauenly feaste : so that in no wise you come but in the mariage garment, required of god in holy scripture ; and so come and be receiued, as worthy partakers of suche a heauenly table. The way and means thereto is : First to examine your liues and conuersacion by the rule of goddes commaundements, and whereinsoeuer ye shall perceiue your selues to have offended, either by wil, word, or dede, there beewaile your owne sinful liues, confess your selfes to almightie god with ful purpose of amendment of life. And yf ye shal perceiue your offences to be such, as be not only against god, but also againste your neighbours : then ye shal reconcile your selues unto them, ready to make restitucion and satisfaccion, accordyng to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wronges done by you to

any other : and likewise beeyng ready to forgeue other that have offended you, as you would have forgeuenesse of your offences at gods hande : for otherwyse the receiuing of the holy Communion doth nothyng els, but encrease your damnacion. And because it is requisite that no man shoulde come to the holy Communion but with a full truste in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience : therefore if there be any of you which by the meanes afore said cannot quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsel ; then let him come to me, or some other discreet and learned minister of god's word, and open his griefe, that he may receiue such gostlye counsail, aduise, and coumfort, as his conscience maye be relieued ; and that by the ministery of god's word he may receiue coumfort and the benefite of absolucion, to the quietting of his conscience, and auoiding of al Scruple and doubtfulnes.

¶ *Then shal the Priest say this exhortacion.*

Derely beloued in the Lord : ye that mynde to come to the holy Communion of the body and bloud of our sauiour Christ, muste considre what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to trye and examine themselues, before they presume to eate of that bread, and drinke of that cup : for as the benefite is great, if with a truly penitent heart and liuely fayth, we receiue that holy Sacrament (for then we spirituallye eate the fleshe of Christ, and drynke hys bloud, then we dwel in Christ and Christ in us, we be one with Christ, and Christ with us ;) so is the daunger great, if we receiue the same unworthely. For then we be giltie of the bodye and bloud of Christ our sauiour. We eate and drynke our own damnacion, not consideryng the Lordes body. We kindle Goddes wrath againste us,

we prouoke hym to plague us with diuers diseases, and sundry kynds of death. Therfore, yf any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hynderer or slaunderer of his worde, an adulterer, or be in malice or enuie, or in any other greuous cryme, bewayle your sinnes, and come not to thys holy Table ; lest after the takyng of that holy Sacrament, the Deuill entre into you, as he entred into Judas, and fyll you ful of al iniquities, and bryng you to destruccion, both of bodye and soule. Judge therefore your selues (brethren) that ye bee not judged of the Lorde. Repent you truely for your synnes paste, haue a liuely and stedfaste fayth in Christe our sauiour. Amende youre lyues, and be in perfecte charitie with al men, so shall ye be meete partakers of those holy misteries. And aboue all thynges, ye muste geue most humble and hartie thankes to God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, for the redempcyon of the worlde by the death and passyon of our Sauiour Chryst, both God and man, who did humble hymself, euen to the death upon the Crosse for us miserable synners, which laye in darkenesse and the shadowe of death, that he myght make us the chyldren of God, and exalte us to euerlastinge lyfe. And to thend that we shoulde alway remembre the exceding great loue of our Maister, and onely Sauioure Jesu Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefites, (whiche by his precyous bloudsheding) he hath obteined to us, he hath instituted and ordayned holy misteries, as pledges of his loue, and continual remembraunce of hys death, to our great and endles comforte. To hym therefore, with the father and the holy ghost, let us geue (as we are most bounden) continuall thankes : submitting ourselues wholy to hys holy wil and pleasure, and studying to serue him in true holyness and righteousnesse, all the dayes of oure lyfe. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shal the Priest saye to them that come to receiue the holy Communion.*

You that doe truly and earnestly repente you of youre synnes, and bee in loue and charitie with your neighbours, and entende to leade a newe lyfe, folowyng the commaundments of god, and walking from henceforth in his holy waies: Drawe nere and take this holy Sacramente to youre comfort: make your humble confession to almightie god, before this congregacion here gathered together in his holy name, mekely knelyng upon your knees.

¶ *Then shal this general confession be made, in the name of al those that are mynded to receiue the holy Communion, eyther by one of them, or els by one of the ministers, or by the Priest himself, al kneling humbly upon theyr knees.*

Almightye God, father of our Lorde Jesus Christe, maker of all thyngs, Judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewayle oure manyfolde synnes and wyckednes, whiche we from tyme to tyme moste greuously have committed, by thoughte, woord and dede, agaynst thy deuine Majestie: prouokyng most justely thy wrath and indignacion agaynste us: we doe earnestlye repente, and be hartely sory for these our misdoynges: the remembraunce of them is greuouse unto us, the burthen of them is intollerable: haue mercye upon us, haue mercye upon us, moste mercifull father, for thy sonne our Lorde Jesus Chrystes sake: forgeue us all that is past, and graunt that we maye euer hereafter serue and please thee, in newnesse of lyfe, to the honoure and glory of thy name: Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

¶ *Then shal the priest or the Bisshop (being present) stand up, and turning himselfe to the people, say, thus,*

ALMIGHTIE god, our heauenly father, who of his great mercy, hath promised forgeueness of synnes to all them, whiche with hartie repentaunce and true fayth turne unto hym: haue mercye upon you, pardon and deliuer you from all your synnes, confirme and strengthen you in all goodnesse and bring you to euerlasting life: through Jesus Christe our Lorde. *Amen.*

Then shal the Priest also saye,

Heare what comfortable woords our sauioure Christe sayeth, to al that truly turne to hym

Come unto me all that trauaile, and be heauye laden, and I shal refreshe you. So god loued the world, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne to thend that al that beleue in him, should not perishe, but haue life euerlasting.

Heare also what Sainct Paul sayeth.

This is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be receiued, that Jesus Christe came into the world to saue synners.

Heare also what Sainct John sayeth.

If any man sinne, we have an aduocate with the father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propiciacion for our synnes.

¶ *After the whiche the Priest shall procede, saying,*[1]

Lyfte up your heartes.

Answer. We lyfte them up unto the Lorde.

Priest. Let us geue thankes unto our Lorde God.

Answer. It is mete and right so to doe.

[1] See Mass, p. 126.

Priest. It is very mete, ryght, and oure bounden duetie, that we should at al times, and in al places, geue thankes unto thee, O lord holy father, almightie euerlastyng God.

¶ *Here shall folowe the proper Preface according to the tyme (yf there be any specially appointed,) or els immediatly shal folowe.* Therefore with Angelles, &c.

Propre Prefaces.

¶ *Upon* Christmas daye, *and seuen dayes after.*

Because thou diddest geue Jesus Christ, thine onely sonne, to be borne as this daye for us, who by the operacion of the holy goste, was made very man, of the substaunce of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of synne, to make us cleane from al synne. Therefore, &c.

¶ *Upon* Easter daye, *and seuen dayes after.*

But chiefly are we bounde to prayse thee, for the glorious resurreccion of Thy sonne Jesus Christ our Lorde; for he is the very Paschall lambe which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sinne of the worlde, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rysing to lyfe agayne hath restored to us euerlasting lyfe. Therefore, &c.

¶ *Upon the* Ascencion daye, *and seuen dayes after.*

Throughe thy moste dere beloued sonne, Jesus Christ our lorde, who after his moste glorious resurreccion manifestlye appeared to all hys Apostles, and in their sighte ascended up into heauen, to prepare a place for us, that where he is, thether might we also ascend, and reigne with him in glorye. Therefore, &c.

¶ *Upon* Whitsondaye, *and six dayes after.*

THROUGH Jesus Christ our Lorde, accordyng to whose most true promise, the holye ghoste came downe thys daye from heauen, with a sodayne great sound, as it had been a myghty wynde, in the lykenesse of fyery tongues, lyghting upon the Apostles, to teache them, and to leade them to all trueth, geuing them both the gyft of diuerse languages, and also boldnes with feruent zeale, constantly to preache the gospell unto all nacions, whereby we are brought out of darknesse and errour, into the cleare lyghte and true knowledge of thee, and of thy sonne Jesus Christ. Therefore with, &c.

¶ *Upon the feast of* Trinity *onely.*

IT is very mete, ryght, and our bounden duetie, that we shoulde at all tymes, and in all places, geue thanks to thee, O Lord, almightie and euerlasting God, whiche art one God, one Lorde, not one onely person, but three persons in one substaunce : For that which we beleue of the glorye of the father, the same we beleue of the sonne, and of the holye ghoste without anye dyfference, or inequaltie. Therefore with, &c.

¶ *After whiche preface, shal folowe immediatly,*

Therefore with Angelles and Archangelles, and with al the companye of heauen, we laude and magnifye thy glorious name, euermore praysing thee, and saying :

Holye, holye, holye, Lorde God of hostes : heauen and yearthe are full of thy glory : glory be to thee, O lord, most high.

¶ *Then shal the Priest, kneling down at Goddes borde, say in the name of all them that shal receiue the Communion, this praier folowyng.*

We doe not presume to come to this thy table (O mercyfull Lorde) trustinge in our owne righteousnesse, but in thy manifolde and greate mercies: we bee not worthye, so much as to gather up the crommes under thy table: but thou art the same Lorde whose propertie is alwayes to haue mercye: graunt us therfore (gracious lord) so to eate the fleshe of thy dere sonne Jesus Christe, and to drinke his bloud, that our synfulle bodyes maye be made cleane by his body, and our soules wasched through his most precious bloud, and that we may euermore dwel in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Priest standing up shal saye, as foloweth.*[1]

Almighty God oure heauenly father, whiche of thy tender mercye dyddest geue thine onely sonne Jesus Christ, to suffre death upon the crosse for our redempcion, who made there (by hys one oblacion of hymselfe once offered) a full, perfecte and sufficiente sacrifice, oblacion, and satisfaccion, for the synnes of the whole worlde, and dyd institute, and in hys holye Gospell commaund us to continue, a perpetuall memorye of that his precious death, untyll hys comynge agayne: Heare us O mercyefull father wee beeseche thee; and graunt that wee, receyuing these thy creatures of bread and wyne, accordinge to thy sonne our Sauioure Jesus Christ's holy institucion, in remembraunce of his death and passion, maye be partakers of his most blessed body and bloud: who, in the same night that he was betrayed, tooke bread, and when he had geuen thanks, he brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples, sayinge: Take, eate, this is my bodye which is geuen for you. Doe this in remembraunce of me. Lykewyse after supper he tooke the cup, and when he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, sayinge:

[1] See Mass, p. 131.

Drink ye all of this, for this is my bloud of the new Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for remission of synnes: do this as oft as ye shal drinke it in remembraunce of me.

¶ *Then shal the minister*[1] *first receyue the Communion in both kyndes hymselfe, and next deliuer it to other ministers, yf any be there present (that they may help the chief minister,) and after to the people in their handes kneling.*

¶ *And when he delyuereth the bread, he shall saye,*[2]

Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ dyed for thee, and feede on him in thy hearte by faythe, with thankesgeuing.

And the Minister that delyuereth the cup, shal saye,[3]

Drinke this in remembraunce that Christ's bloude was shed for thee, and be thankefull.

[1] "Priest"—First Prayer Book.

[2] "The body of our Lorde Jesus Christe which was geuen for thee, preserue thy body and soule unto euerlasting lyfe." First Prayer Book.

[3] The following, for comparison, is the corresponding extract from First Prayer Book:—

And the minister deliuering the Sacramēt of the bloud, and geuyng euery one to drink once and no more shall say,

The bloud of our Lorde Jesus Christe which was shed for thee preserue thy body and soule unto euerlasting lyfe.

If there be a Deacon, or other Priest, then shal he folow with the Chalice: and as the Priest mynistereth the Sacramēt of the body, so shal he (for more expeditiō) minister the Sacramēt of the bloud, in the fourme before written.

In the Communion tyme the Clerkes shall syng.

ii. O lambe of god, that takeste away the sinnes of the worlde: haue mercie upon us.

O lambe of god, that takeste away the sinnes of the worlde: graunt us thy peace.

¶ *Then shall the Priest saye the Lordes prayer, the people repeating after him euery peticion.*

¶ *After shalbe sayde as foloweth.*[1]

O LORDE and heauenly father, we thy humble seruants entierly desire thy fatherly goodnes, mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice of prayse and thanksgeuing: most humbly beseching thee to graunt, that by the merites and death of thy sonne Jesus Christe, and through fayth in his bloud, we and al thy whole church may obtayne remission of our synnes, and all other benefytes of his Passion. And here we offre and presente unto thee, O lord, our selfes, our soules, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and liuely Sacrifice unto thee: humbly beseching thee, that al we which be partakers of this holy Communion, maye bee fulfylled with thy grace and heauenly benediccion. And although we bee unworthy throughe oure manifolde sinnes to offre unto thee any Sacrifice: yet we beseche thee to accept this our bounden duetie and seruice, not weighing our merites, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom and with whom, in the unitie of the holy ghost, all honour and glory bee unto thee, O father almightie, world without ende. *Amen.*

Beginning so soon as the Prieste doeth receyue the holy Communion, and when the Communion is ended, then shall the Clerkes syng the post Communion.

Sentences of the holy Scripture, to be sayd or song every daye one, after the holy Communion, called the post Communion.

[22 verses follow.]

Then the Priest shall geue thankes to God, in the name of all them that have communicated, turning him first to the people, and saying.

The Lorde be with you.

The aunswere. And with thy spirite.

The Priest. Let us pray.

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[1] First Prayer Book, Mass, pp. 132, 133, with important variations.

¶ *Or this.*

ALMIGHTIE and euerliuing God, we most hartely thank thee, for that thou dooest vouchsafe to fede us, whiche haue duely receyued these holye misteries, with the spirituall foode of the most precious body and bloud of thy sonne our sauiour Jesus Christ, and doest assure us thereby of thy fauoure and goodnes towarde us, and that we bee verye membres incorporate in thy mistical body, which is the blessed companie of all faythfull people, and be also heyrs, through hope, of thy euerlasting kingdom, by the merites of the most precious death and Passion of thy deare sonne. We now most humbly beseche thee, O heauenly father, so to assiste us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy felowship, and do al such good workes, as thou hast prepared for us to walk in: through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with thee and the holy ghost, be all honour and glorye, world without ende. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shalbe sayd or song.*[1]

GLORYE bee to God on hyghe. And in yearth peace, good wyll towardes men. We prayse thee, we blesse thee, we worshippe thee, we glorifye thee, we geue thanks to thee for thy greate glorye, O Lorde God, heauenly kyng, God the father almightie. O lord the onely begotten sonne Jesu Christ: O lord God, Lambe of god, sonne of the father, that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercye upon us: Thou that takest away the sinnes of the world, haue mercy upon us. Thou that takest awaye the sinnes of the world, receyue oure prayer. Thou that syttest at the ryght hande of God the father, haue mercye upon us: For thou only art holy, Thou arte the Lord. Thou only, (O Christ,) with the holy ghost, art most high in the glory of god the father. *Amen.*

[1] First Prayer Book, Mass, p. 121.

¶ *Then the Priest or the Bishop, if he be present, shal let them depart with thys blessyng :*

THE peace of GOD which passeth al understanding kepe youre heartes and mynds in the knowledge and loue of GOD, and of his sonne Jesus Christ our Lord : And the blessing of god almighty, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost, be amongst you and remayne with you always. *Amen.*

¶ *Collectes to be saide after the Offertorie, when there is no Communyon, euery suche daye one. And the same maye be sayd also as often as occasion shal serue, after the Collectes, eyther of Morning and Euening prayer, Communion or Letany, by the discrecion of the minister.*

ASSIST us mercyfully, O lord, in these our supplicacions and prayers, and dispose the waye of thy seruants toward the attaynment of euerlasting saluacion : that among al the chaunges and chaunces of this mortall lyfe, they may euer be defended by the most gracious and ready helpe : throughe Christ our Lorde. *Amen.*

O ALMIGHTIE Lord and euerliuing god, vouchsafe, we beseche thee, to directe, sanctifye, and gouerne, both oure heartes and bodies, in the wayes of thy lawes, and in the woorks of thy commaundments : that through thy most mightie proteccion, both here and euer, we may be preserued in body and soule : through our lorde and sauioure Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

GRAUNT, we beseche thee, Almightie God, that the wordes which we haue heard this daye, with our outward eares, may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in oure heartes, that they may bring forth in us the fruite of good liuing, to the honour and prayse of thy name : through Jesus Christ our Lorde. *Amen.*

PREUENT us, O Lord, in al our doinges, with thy most gracious fauoure, and further us with thy continual helpe, that in all our works begon, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorifye thy holy name, and finallye by thy mercie obtayne euerlasting lyfe : through Jesus Christ our Lorde. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTY God, the fountayn of al wisdom, which knowest our necessities before we ask, and oure ignoraunce in asking : we beseche thee to haue compassion upon our infirmities, and those things, whiche for our unworthinesse we dare not, and for oure blindnesse we cannot aske, vouchsafe to geue us for the worthines of thy sonne Jesus Christe our Lord. *Amen.*

ALMIGHTYE God, whiche haste promysed to heare the peticions of them that aske in they sonnes name : we beseche thee mercyfully to enclyne thyne eares to us that haue made nowe oure prayers and supplicacions unto thee : and graunt that those things which we faythfully asked according to thy wyll, may effectually be obteyned to the reliefe of our necessitie, and to the setting foorth of thy glory : Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Upon the holy dayes, yf there be no Communion, shalbe said al that is appoynted at the Communion, untyl the ende of the Homelie, concluding with the general prayer, 'for the whole state of Christ's churche militante here in earth :' and one or moe of these Collectes before rehearsed, as occasyon shal serue.*

¶ *And there shalbe no celebracion of the lordes Supper, except there be a good noumbre to communicate wyth the Priest, accordynge to hys discrecion.*

¶ *And yf there be not aboue twentie persons in the Parishe of discretion to receiue the Communion : yet there shalbe no Communion, excepte foure, or three at the*

least communicate wyth the Prieste. And in Cathedrali and Collegiate churches, where be many Priestes and Deacons, they shall all receyue the Communion wyth the minister euery Sonday at the least, excepte they haue a reasonable cause to the contrary.

¶ *And to take away the supersticion, whiche any person hathe, or myghte haue in the bread and wyne, it shall suffyse that the bread bee such, as is usuall to bee eaten at the Table wyth other meates, but the best and purest wheate bread, that conueniently maye be gotten. And yf any of the bread or wine remayne, the Curate shal haue it to hys owne use.*

¶ *The bread and wyne for the Communion shall be prouyded by the Curate, and the churchwardens, at the charges of the Parishe, and the Parishe shalbe discharged of such summes of money, or other dueties, which hetherto they haue payde for the same, by order of theyr houses euery Sondaye.*

¶ *And note, that euery Parishioner shall communicate, at the least thre tymes in the yere: of which, Easter to be one: and shal also receyue the Sacramentes, and other rytes, according to the order in this boke appointed. And yerely at Easter, euery Parishioner shal reken with his Person, Vicare, or Curate, or his, or their deputie or deputies, and paye to them or hym all Ecclesiasticall dueties, accustomably due, then and at that tyme to be payde.*

Although no ordre can be so perfectlye aeuised, but it may be of some, eyther for theyr ignoraunce and infirmitie, or els of malice and obstinacie, misconstrued, depraued, and interpreted in a wrong part: And yet because brotherly charitie willeth, that so much as conueniently may be, offences shoulde be taken awaye:

therefore we willing to doe the same. Whereas it is ordeyned in the booke of common prayer, in the administracion of the Lord's Supper, that the Communicants knelyng shoulde receyue the holye Communion: whiche thyng beyng well mente, for a sygnificacion of the humble and gratefull acknowledgyng of the benefites of Chryst, geuen unto the woorthye receyuer, and to auoyde the prophanacion and dysordre, which about the holy Communion myght els ensue: Leste yet the same kneelyng myght be thought or taken otherwyse, we dooe declare that it is not ment thereby, that any adoracion is doone, or oughte to bee doone, eyther unto the Sacramentall bread or wyne there bodily receyued, or unto anye reall and essencial presence there beeyng of Christ's naturall fleshe and bloude. For as concernynge the Sacramentall bread and wyne, they remayne styll in theyr verye naturall substaunces, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatrye to be abhorred of all faythfull christians. And as concernynge the naturall body and blood of our sauiour Christ, they are in heauen and not here. For it is agaynst the trueth of Christes true natural bodye, to be in moe places then in one, at one tyme.

APPENDIX V

JOHN KNOX'S "BOOK OF COMMON ORDER" ORDER OF HOLY COMMUNION

The Maner of the Lordes Supper.

The day when the Lordes Supper is ministered, which Commonlye is used once a monthe, or so oft as the Congregation shall thinke expedient, the Minister useth to saye as followeth :

Let us marke, deare Bretherne, and consider how Jesus Christ did ordayne unto his Holy Supper, according as S. Paule maketh rehearsall in the 11. chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians :

" I have," saith he, " receyved of the Lorde that which I have delivered unto you, (to witt,) that the Lorde Jesus, the same night he was betrayed, toke breade, and when he had geven thankes, he brake it, sayinge, Take ye, eate ye, this is my bodie which is broken for you ; doo you this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper, he toke the cuppe, sayinge, This cuppe is the newe Testament or covenant in my bloude, doo ye this so ofte as ye shall drinke therof, in remembrance of me. For so ofte as you shal eate this bread and drinke of this cuppe, ye shall declare the Lordes deathe untill his comminge. Therfore, whosoever shall eate this bread, and drinke the cuppe of the Lorde unworthelye, he shalbe giltie of the bodye and bloud of the Lord. Then see that every man prove and trye hym

selfe, and so let hym eate of this bread and drinke of this cuppe; for whosoever eateth or drinketh unworthelye, he eateth and drinketh his owne damnation, for not havinge due regarde and consideration of the Lordes bodye."

This done, the Minister proceadeth to exhortation.

Dearely beloved in the Lorde, forasmoch as we be nowe assembled to celebrate the holy Communion of the body and bloud of our Saviour Christ, let us consider these woordes of S. Paule, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to trye and examine them selves before they presume to eate of that bread and drinke of that cuppe. For as the benefite ys great, if with a truly penitent hart and lively faith we receyve that holy sacrament, (for then we spiritually eate the fleshe of Christ and drinke his bloude, then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us, we be one with Christ and Christ with us,) so is the daunger great if we receyve the same unworthely, for then we be giltie of the bodye and bloud of Christ our Saviour, we eate and drinke our own damnation, not considering the Lordes bodye; we kindle Godes wrath against us, and provoke him to plague us with diverse diseases and sundry kindes of death.

And therefore, in the Name and authoritie of the eternal God, and of his sonne Jesus Christ, I excommunicate from this Table, all blasphemers of God, all idolaters, all murtherers, all adulterers, all that be in malice or envie, all disobedient persons to father or mother, princes or magistrates, pastors or preachers, all theves and disceivers of their neighbours; and finally, all suche as lyve a lyfe directly fighting against the will of God: charging them as they wil aunswer in the presence of Him who is the righteous judge, that they presume not to prophane this most holy Table. And

yet this I pronounce not to seclude any penitent person how grievous that ever his sinnes before have bene, so that he feele in his heart unfained repentance for the same; but only such as continue in sinne without repentance. Neither yet is this pronounced against suche as aspire to a greater perfection, then they can in this present life attayne unto.

For albeit we fele in ourselves much frailtie and wretchedness, as that we have not our faith so perfite and constant as we ought, being many tymes readye to distruste Godes goodness through our corrupt nature, and also that we are no so throughlye geven to serve God, neyther have so fervent a zeale to set forth his glory as our duetye requireth, felinge still such rebellion in our selves, that we have nede dayly to fight against the lustes of our fleshe; yet, nevertheles, seing that our Lorde hath dealed thus mercifully with us, that he hath printed his Gospell in our hartes, so that we are preserved from falling into desperation and misbeliefe; and seing also he hath indued us with a will and desire to renownce and withstand our own affections, with a longing for his righteousness and the keping of his commaundementes, we may be now right well assured, that those defautes and manifolde imperfections in us, shalbe no hinderance at all against us, to cause him not to accept and impute us as worthie to come to his spirituall Table. For the ende of our comming thyther is not to make protestation that we are upright and juste in our lives, but contrariwise, we come to seke our life and perfection in Jesus Christ, acknowledging in the meane tyme, that we of our selves be the children of wrath and damnation.

Let us consider, then, that this Sacrament is a singuler medecine for all poore sicke creatures, a comfortable helpe to weake soules, and that our Lord requireth no other worthines on our parte, but that we unfaynedly

acknowlege our noghtines and imperfection. Then to the end that we may be worthy partakers of his merites and moste comfortable benefits, (which ys the true eatinge of his fleshe, and drinkinge of his bloud,) let us not suffer our mindes to wander aboute the consideration of these earthlie and corruptible thynges (which we see present to our eies, and fele with our handes,) to seeke Christ bodely presente in them, as if he were inclosed in the breade or wyne, or as yf these elementes were tourned and chaunged into the substaunce of his fleshe and blood. For the only waye to dispose our soules to receive norishment, reliefe, and quickening of his substance, is to lift up our mindes by fayth above all thinges worldlye and sensible, and therby to entre into heaven, that we may finde and receive Christ, where he dwelleth undoutedlye verie God and verie man, in the incomprehensible glorie of his Father, to whome be all praise, honor, and glory, now and ever. *Amen.*

The Exhortation ended, the Minister commeth doune from the pulpet, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in likewise takinge their place as occasion best serveth: then he taketh bread, and geveth thankes, either in these woordes followinge, or like in effect:

O Father of mercye, and God of all consolation, seinge all creatures do knowlege and confesse thee as Gouverner and Lorde, it becometh us, the workemanship of thyne own handes, at all tymes to reverence and magnifie thy Godly Majestie: first, for that thou haste created us to thyne own image and similitude; but chieflye that thou haste delivered us from that everlasting death and damnation, into the which Satan drewe mankinde by the meane of synne, from the bondage wherof, neither man nor angell was able to make us free; but thou, O Lord, riche in mercie and infinite in goodnes, haste provided

our redemption to stande in thy onely and welbeloved Sone, whom of verie love thou didest give to be made man, lyke unto us in all thynges, (synne except) that in his bodye he myght receive the ponishments of our transgression, by his death to make satisfaction to thy justice, and by his resurrection to destroye hym that was auctor of death ; and so to reduce and bring agayne life to the world, frome which the whole offspringe of Adame moste justly was exiled.

O Lord, we acknowlege that no creature ys able to comprehende the length and breadthe, the depnes and height, of that thy most excellent love, which moved thee to shewe mercie where none was deserved ; to promise and give life where death had gotten victorie ; to receve us into thy grace when we could do nothyng but rebell against thy justice. O Lord, the blynde dulnes of our corrupt nature will not suffer us sufficiently to waye these thy moste ample benefites ; yet, nevertheles at the commaundement of Jesus Christ our Lorde, we present our selves to this his Table, (which he hath left to be used in remembrance of his death untyll hys comming agayne,) to declare and witnes before the world that by him alone we have receved libertie and life ; that by hym alone thou doest acknowledge us thy children and heires ; that by hym alone we are possessed in our spirituall kingedome, to eate and drinke at his Table ; with whome we have our conversation presently in heaven ; and by whome our bodies shalbe reysed up agayne frome the dust, and shalbe placed with him in that endles joye, which thow, O Father of mercye, hast prepared for thyne elect before the foundation of the world was layde. And these moste inestimable benefites, we acknowlege and confesse to have receaved of thy free mercie and grace, by thy onely beloved Sonne Jesus Christ : for the which therefore, we thy Congrega-

tion, moved by thy Holy Sprite, render thee all thankes, prayse, and glorie, for ever and ever.

This done, the Minister breaketh the bread, and deliver-eth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same among themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandement, and likewise giveth the cuppe. Dur-ing the which time, some place of the Scriptures is read, which doeth lively set foorth the death of Christ, to the intent that our eyes and senses may not onely be occupied in these outwarde signes of bread and wyne, which are called the visible word; but that our hearts and mindes also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holie Sacrament represented. And after the action is done, he giveth thankes, saying:

Moste merciful Father, we render to thee all praise, thankes and glorie, for that it hath pleased thee of thy great mercies to graunt unto us miserable sinners, so excellent a gift and treasure, as to receive us into the fellowship and companie of thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, whome thou hast delivered to death for us, and hast given him unto us, as a necessarie foode and nourishment unto everlasting life. And now we beseche thee also, O heavenly Father, to grant us this request, that thou never suffer us to become so unkinde as to forget so worthie benefites, but rather imprint and fasten them sure in our hearts, that we may growe and increase daily more and more in true faith, which continuallie is exercised in all manner of good workes; and so muche the rather, O Lord, confirme us in these perillous dayes and rages of Satan that we may constantlie stand and continue in the confession of the same, to the advance-ment of thy glorie, which art God over all things, blessed for ever. So be it.

The action thus ended, the people sing the 103 *Psalme,* "My soule, give laude," &c., *or some other of thankesgiving : which ended, one of the blessings before mencioned, is recited, and so they rise from the table, and departe.*

To the Reader.

If so be that any wolde mervel why we follow rather this Order, then any other in the Administration of this Sacrament, let him diligently consider, that first of all we utterly renounce the error of the Papists : secondly, we restore unto the Sacrament his owne substance, and to Christ his propre place. And as for the wordes of the Lord's Supper, we rehearse them, not because they shulde change the substance of the bread or wine, or that the repetition thereof, with the intent of the sacrificer, shulde make the Sacrament (as the Papists falsely beleeve) but they are red and pronounced, to teach us how to behave ourselves in that action, and that Christ might witnesse unto our faith, as it were with his own mouth, that he hath ordained these signes to our spirituall use and comfort : We do first therefore examine our selves, according to Saint Paules rule, and prepare our mindes, that we may be worthy partakers of so high mysteries. Then taking bread, we give thankes, breake and distribute it, as Christ our Saviour hath taught us. Finally, the ministration ended, we give thankes againe, according to his example : So that without his worde and warrant, there is nothing in this holie action attempted.

APPENDIX VI

ORNAMENTS RUBRICS

FIRST PRAYER BOOK (at the end of the book).

Certain Notes for the more plain explication and decent ministration of things contained in this book.

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2. In the saying or singing of Matins and Evensong, Baptizing and Burying, the minister, in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same, shall use a Surplice. And in all Cathedral Churches and Colleges, the Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, Prebendaries, and Fellows, being graduates, may use in the quire, beside their Surplices, such hood as pertaineth to their several degrees, which they have taken in any university within this realm. But in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, shall use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees.

3. And whensoever the Bishop shall celebrate the holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a Surplice or albe, and a Cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain.

4. As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may

be used or left, as every man's devotion serveth, (without blame).

5. Also upon Christmas Day, Easter Day, the Ascension Day, Whit-Sunday, and the feast of the Trinity, may be used any part of holy scripture hereafter to be certainly limited and appointed, in the stead of the Litany.

6. If there be a sermon, or for other great cause, the Curate by his discretion may leave out the Litany, Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, (the) Homily, and the Exhortation to the Communion.

(After this follows the word " Finis " and then the " Colophon.")

SECOND PRAYER BOOK.

Second Edward VI, 1552.

The Order Where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said.

2. And here it is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither Alb, Vestment, nor Cope : but being Archbishop, or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet : and being a Priest or Deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.

THIRD PRAYER BOOK.

Elizabeth, 1559.

The Order Where Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used and said.

2. And here it is to be noted that the Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his

ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church, as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book.

Our Prayer Book.

Charles II, 1662.

The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer daily to be said and used throughout the year.

2. And here it is to be noted, that such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof at all times of their Ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.

N.B.—The direction to wear the Vestment or Cope, &c., will be found in the Rubrics before the Communion Service of the First Prayer Book, Appendix II, p. 137.

APPENDIX VII

INJUNCTION OF 1559 RESPECTING HOLY TABLES[1]

WHEREAS her majesty understandeth, that in many and sundry parts of the realm the alters of the churches be removed, and tables placed for the administration of the holy sacrament, according to the form of the law therefore provided; and in some places the alters be not yet removed, upon opinion conceived of some other order therein to be taken by her majesty's visitors, in the order whereof, saving for an uniformity, there seemeth no matter of great moment, so that the sacrament be duly and reverently ministered; yet for observation of one uniformity through the whole realm, and for the better imitation of the law in that behalf, it is ordered, that no altar be taken down, but by oversight of the curate of the church, and the churchwardens, or one of them at the least, wherein no riotous or disordered manner be used. And that the holy table in every church be decently made, and set in the place, where the altar stood, and there commonly covered, as thereto belongeth, and as shall be appointed by the visitors, and so to stand, saving when the communion of the sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number communicate with the said minister. And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy table to be placed where it stood before.[1]

[1] Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, i. p. 201: Oxford, 1893.

APPENDIX VIII

ADVERTISEMENTS OF 1564

Articles for Administration of Prayer and Sacramentes.

Item. In the ministration of the holy communion in cathedrall and collegiate churches, the principall minister shall use a cope with gospeller and epistoler agreably; and at all other prayers to be sayde at that communion table, to use no copes but surplesses.

Item. That the deane and prebendaries weare a surplesse with a silke hood in the quyer; and when they preache in the cathedrall or collegiate churche, to weare theire hoode.

Item. That every minister sayinge any publique prayers, or ministringe the sacramentes or other rites of the churche, shall weare a comely surples with sleeves, to bee provided at the charges of the parishe; and that the parishe provide a decente table standinge on a frame for the communion table.

APPENDIX IX

ACT OF UNIFORMITY, 1559

1 Eliz. c. 2.

An Acte for the Uniformitie of Common Prayoure and Dyvyne Service in the Churche, and the Administration of the Sacramentes.

WHERE at the Deathe of our late Sovereigne Lord King Edwarde the Syxte, there remayned one uniforme Order of Common Service and Prayour, and of thadministracõn of Sacramentes Rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of Englande, whiche was set furthe in one Booke, entituled The Booke of Common Prayour and Administracõn of Sacramentes and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of Englande, authorised by Acte of Þliament holden in the Fifthe and Sixthe Yeres of our sayd late Sovereigne Lord Kyng Edwarde the Syxthe, intituled An Act for thuniformitee of Cõmon Prayour and Administracõion of the Sacramentes; the whiche was repealed and taken away by Acte of Þliament in the First Yere of the Reigne of our late Sovereigne Ladye Quene Marie, to the greate Decaye ofthe due Honour of God and discomforte to the Professoures of the Truthe of Cristes Religion: BE IT therfor enacted by thaucthoritee of this p̃nte Þliam^{t}, That the said Estatute of the Repeale and everye thinge therin conteyned, onely concerning the sayd Booke and the Service Administration of Sacramentes Rites and Ceremonies conteyned or appointed in or by the saide Booke, shalbee voide and of none effecte from and after the Feast ofthe Nativitye of S^{t} John

Baptist next coming; and that the sayd Booke withe Thorder of Service and ofthe Administracõn of Sacramentes Rytes and Ceremonies withe Thalteracõn and Addicõns therin added and appointed by this Estatute, shall stande and bee from and after the sayd Feast of the Natyvitee of Sainte John Baptiste in full force and effecte according to the tenoure and effecte of this Estatute; Annye thing in the aforesaid Statute of Repeale to the contrarye notwithestanding.

And further be it enacted by the Quenes Highnes withe thassent of the Lordes and Cõmons in this p̃nte Pliam^t assembled, and by aucthoritie of the same, That all and singler Mynysters in any Cathedrall or Pishe Churche or other Place within this Realme of Englande, Wales and the Marches of the same, or other the Quenes Dominions, shall from and after the Feast of the Nativite of S^t John Baptyst next coming, bee bownden to saye and use the Mattens Evensong and Administracõn of eche of the Sacramentes and all their Cõmon and open Prayour, in suche Order and Fourme as is mentioned in the said Booke so authorised by Pliam^t in the said Fifthe and Sixth Yere of the Reigne of Kinge Edwarde the Sixthe, with one Alteracõn or addition of certayn Lessons to bee used on every Sundaye in the Yere, and the fourme of the Letanie altered and corrected, and twoo Sentences onelye added in the dylyverye of the Sacrament to the Cõmunicantes, and none other or otherwise, And that yf any maner of Psone Vycar or other whatsoever Minister that ought or should sing or saye Cõmon Prayour mentioned in the sayd Booke, or minister the Sacraments, from and after the Feast of the Nativitee of S^t John Baptist nexte coming, refuse to use the said Cõmon Prayers or to ministre the Sacramẽt̃ in suche Cathedrall or Parishe Churche or other Places as he should use to minister the same, in suche Order and Fourme as they be

mentioned and set furthe in the sayd Booke, or shall wilfullye or obstinately (standing in the same) use any other Ryte Ceremonye Order Fourm or Manner of celebrating of the Lordes Supper openly or prively, or Mattens Evensong Administracõn of the Sacramentes or other open Prayers then ys mentioned and set furthe in the sayd Booke (Open Prayer in and throughout this Acte is ment that Prayer which ys for other to come unto, or heare either in Cõmon Churches or Pryvye Chapelles or Oratories, cõmonly called the Service of the Church,) or shall preach declare or speake any thing in the derogacõn or depraving of the sayd Booke or anything therin conteyned or of parte therof, and shalbee therof lawfully convicted according to the Lawes of this Realme, by verdicte of twelve men, or by his owne Confession, by the notorious Evidence of the Facte, shall lose and forfeite to the Quenes Highnes her Heires and Successoures for his first Offence, the Profite of all his Sp̃uall Benefices or Promocõns cõming or arising in one hole yere next after his Convicõn ; And also that the ꝑson so convicted shall for the same Offence suffer Imprisonement by the Space of sixe Monethes without Bayle or Mayneprise : And yf any such ꝑsone once convicte of anye offence concerning the Premisses shall after the first Convicc̃on eftesoones offend and bee therof in fourme aforesaid lawfully convicte, that then the same ꝑson shall for his seconde Offence suffer Imprisonement by the Space of one hole yere, and also shall therefore bee deprived ipso facto of all his Sp̃uall Promocõns ; and that it shalbee lawfull to all Patrones or Donors of all and singler the same Spirituall Promocõns or of any of them, to present or collate to the same, as though the ꝑson or ꝑsons so offending were deade : And that yf anye such persone or persones after he shalbee twise convicted in Fourme aforesaid shall offend against anye of the Premisses the

thirdde tyme, and shalbee therof in fourme aforesayd lawfully convicted, that then the ꝑson so offending and convicted the thirdde tyme shall be depryved ipso facto of all his Spirituall Promotyons, and also shall suffer imprysonement during his Lyef: and yf the ꝑson that shall offend and bee convicted in fourme aforesaid, concerning anye of the premisses, shall not bee beneficed or have any Sp̃uall Promotion that then the same persone so offending and convicte, shall for the first offence suffer Imprisonement during one hole yere nexte after his said Conviction without Baile or Maineprise; and if any such ꝑsone not having any Sp̃uall Promotyon, after his first Conviction, shall eftesoones offend in anything concerning the premisses, and shalbee in fourme aforesaid therof lawfully convicted, that then the same ꝑson shall for his seconde offence suffer Imprisonement during his Lyef.

And it is ordeyned and enacted by thaucthoritee abovesayd, That yf any ꝑsone or ꝑsones whatsoever after the said feast of the Nativitie of S^{t} John Baptist next cõming, shall in anye Entreludes Playes Songes Rymes or by other open Woordes, declare or speake anye thing in the derogation depraving or despising of the same Booke or of anything therin conteyned, or any parte therof or shall by open facte deede or by open threateninges compell or cause or otherwise procure or mayntayne any ꝑsone Vicare or other Minister in any Cathedrall or Parishe Churche or in Chapell or in any other Place, to sing or say any cõmon or open Prayer, or to minister any Sacrament, otherwise or in any other mañ [manner] and fourme then ys mentioned in the said Book, or that by any of the said Meanes shall unlawfully interrupte or let any Persone Vicar or other Minister in anye Cathedrall or Parishe Churche Chappell or any other place to sing or saye common and open Praiour, or to minister the Sacramentes or any of them, in such

a maner and fourme as ys mentioned in the sayd Booke, that then every suche psone being therof lawfully convicted in fourme abovesaid, shall forfeit to the Quene our Sovereigne Ladie her heires and successoures, for the first Offence a Hundrethe Marckes ; and yf any pson or psones being once convicte of any such offence, eftsones offende against any of the last resited Offences, and shall in fourme aforesaid be therof lawfully convicte, that then the same pson so offending and convicte shall for the seconde Offence forfeite to the Quene our Sovereigne Ladye her heires and Successoures fowre Hundrethe Marckes : and yf any persone after he in fourme aforesayd shall have been tayn convicte of any Offence concerning any of the last recited Offences, shall offend the thirdd tyme and bee therof in fourme abovesayd lawfully convicte, that then every person so offending and convicte shall for his thirdd Offence forfeyte to our Sovereigne Ladye the Quene all his Gooddes and Cattelles, and shall suffer Imprisonement during his Lyef ; and yf any pson or psons that for his first offence concerning the Premisses shall bee convicte in fourme aforesaid, doo not paye the sõme to bee payde by vertue of his Conviction, in such Maner and Fourme as the same ought to bee payde, within sixe Weekes next after his Conviction, That then every person so convicte and so not paieng the same, shall for the same first Offence in stede of the sayd sõme suffer Imprisonement by the space of sixe Monethes without Bayle or Maineprise ; and yf any psone or psons that for his second Offence concerning the Premisses, shalbee convicte in fourme aforesayd, doo not paye the said sõme to bee payde by vertue of his Conviction and this Estatute in such Maner and Fourme as the same ought to bee payde withein sixe Weekes next after his sayd second Conviction, that then any pson so convicted and not so payeng the same,

shall for the same seconde Offence in the stede of the sayd sõme suffer Imprisonement during twelve Monethes without Baile or Maineprise: And that from and after the sayd Feast of the Natyvitie of S^{t} John Baptist nexte coming, all and every ꝑson and ꝑsons inhabiting within this Realme or any other the Quenes Ma^{ties} Dominions, shall diligentlye and faithefully, having no lawfull or reasonable Excuse to be absent, endevour themselves to resorte to theyr ꝑishe Churche or Chappell accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof to some usuall place wher Cõmon Prayer and suche Service of God shalbee used in such tyme of late, upon every Sundaye or other dayes ordeined and used to bee kept as Holy days, and then and ther tabyde orderlye and soberly during the tyme of the Cõmon Prayer Preachinges or other Service of God ther to be used and ministred, upon payne of punishement by the Censures of the Churche, and also upon payne that every ꝑson so offending shall forfeite for every such offence twelve pens, to be levied by the Churchewardens of the ꝑishe where suche offence shalbee doon, to thuse of the Poore of the same Parishe, of the Gooddes Landes and Tenementes of suche Offendour by waye of Distress.

And for due execuc̃on herof the Quenes most Excellent Ma^{tie} the Lordes Temporall and all the Cõmons in this ꝑnt ꝑliam^{t} assembled, doothe in Goddes name earnestly requyre and chardge all the Archbishoppes Bishopes and other Ordinaries, that they shall endevour themselves to the uttermost of their knowledges that the due and true execuc̃on hereof may be hadde throughеout their Diocese and Charges, as they will aunswer before God for suche evilles and plages wherewithe Almighty God maye justly punishe his People for neglecting this good holesome Lawe; And for their aucthoritee in this behalfe bee yt further enacted by thaucthoritee aforesayd,

that all and singler the same Archebishopes Bishopes and all other their Officers exercysing Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiccon, as well in place exempt as not exempte within their Diocesse, shall have full power and aucthoritee by this Act to refourme correcte and punishe by Censures of the Churche, all and singler ꝑsons which shall offende withein any of their Jurisdiccons or Diocesse after the said Feast of the Nativitee of S^{t} John Baptist nexte comming, against this Acte and Statute ; Anye other Lawe Statute Privilege Lybertie or Provision heretofore made had or suffred to the contrary notwithestanding.

And it is ordeined and enacted by thaucthoritee aforesaid, That all and every Justices of Oyer and Determiner or Justices of Assise shall have full power and aucthorite in every of their open and generall Sessions, tenquire here and determine al and al maner of Offences that shall be cõmited or done contrarie to any Article conteined in this ꝑnte Acte within the limites of the Cõmission to them directed, and to make processe for thexecucon of the same as they maye doo againste any person being indited before them of trespas or lawfully convicted therof.

Provided alwaies and be yt enacted by thaucthorite aforesaid, That all and every Archebishope and Bishope shall or maie at al time and times at his lybertie and pleasure, joyne and associate himself by vertue of this Acte to the said Justices of Oier and Determiner, or to the said Justices of Assize at every the said open and generall Sessions to be holden in any place for and to thenquirie hearing and determining of the offences aforesaid.

Provided also and be it enacted by thaucthorite aforesaid, That the Bookes concerning the sayd Services shall at the Costes and Chardges of the ꝑishioners of

every Þishe and Cathedrall Churche, bee attained and gotten before the said Feast of the Nativitie of S^t^ John Baptist next folowing ; and that al suche Þishe and Cathedrall Churches or other places where the said Bookes shall bee attayned and gotten before the said Feast ofthe Nativitie of S^t^ John Baptist, shall within Three Wekes next after the sayd Bookes so attained and gotten, use the said Service and put the same in use according to this Acte.

And be it further enacted by thaucthoritee aforesaid, That no þson or þsons shalbe at any tyme hereafter empeached or otherwise molested of or for any the offences above mentioned hereafter to bee committed or doone contrarye to this Acte, onles he or they so offending be therof indited at the next generall Sessions to be holden before any suche Justices of the Oyer and Determiner or Justices of Assize next after any Offence cõmitted or doone contrary to the tenour of this Acte.

Provided alwaies and be it ordeined and enacted by thaucthorite aforesaid, That al and singler Lordes of the Þliament for the thirdd offence above mentioned shalbee tryedd by their Peers.

Provided also and bee it ordeined and enacted by thaucthoritee aforesaid, That the Maior of London and al other Maiors Bailiefes and other Heade Officers of al and singler Cities Boroughes and Townes Corporate within this Realme Wales and the Marches of the same, to the whiche Justices of Assise do not cõmonly repaire, shall have full power and aucthorite by vertue of this Acte tenquire here and determine the Offences above-said and every of them, yerely within fiftene days after the Feast of Easter and S. Mighelt the Archangell, in lyke maner and fourme as Justices of Assise and Oyer and Determiner may doo.

Provided alwaies and be yt ordeyned and enacted by

thaucthorite aforesaid, That al and singler Archebishopes and Bishoppes and every their Chancelloures Cõmissaries Archdeacons and other Ordinaries having any peculiar Ecclesiasticall Jurisdicc̃ion, shal have ful power and aucthoritee by vertue of this Acte, aswell tenquire in their Visitac̃on Synodes and elsewhere within their Jurisdicc̃on, at any other tyme and place, to take occasions and informac̃ons of all and every the thinges above mentioned doone cõmitted or perpetrated within the limits of their jurisdicc̃ons and aucthoritie, and to punish the same by Admonition Excommunication Sequestration or Deprivation and other Censures and Processe in lyke fourme as heretofore hathe bene used in lyke cases by the Quenes Ecclesiasticall Lawes.

Provided alwaies and bee it enacted, That whatsoever pson offending in the Premisses, shall for thoffence first receive punishement of Thordinarie, having a testimoniale therof under the said Ordinaries Seale, shall not for the same Offence eftsoones be convicted before the Justices, And lykewise receyving for the said Offence first punishment by the Justices, he shall not for the same Offence eftesoones receive punishemente of the Ordinarie; Any thing conteyned in this Acte to the contrarye notwithestanding.

[1] Provided alwaies and bee it enacted, That such Ornaments of the Churche and of the Ministers therof shall bee reteyned and bee in use as was in the Churche of Englande by aucthoritie of ꝑliam[t] in the seconde yere of the Reigne of King Edwarde the Syxthe, untill other order shalbe therin taken by thaucthorite of the Quenes Ma[tie], withe the advise of her Cõmissioners appointed and aucthorised under the Greate Seale of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Causes, or of the Metropolytan of this

[1] This is the proviso to which frequent allusion is made throughout this book.

Realme ; And also that yf ther shall happen any Contempte or Irreverence to be used in the Ceremonies or Rites of the Churche by the misusing of thorders appointed in this Booke, the Quenes Ma^tie may by the like advice of the said Cõmissioners or Metropolitan ordeyne and publishe such further Ceremonies or Rites as maye bee most for thadvancement of Goddes glorye, the edifieng of his Church and the due Reverence of Christes holye Misteries and Sacramentes.

And be yt further enacted by thaucthoritee aforesayd, That all Lawes Statutes and Ordinances, wherin or whereby any other Service Administration of Sacraments or Common Prayer ys lymytted established or sett foorthe to bee used within this Realme or any other the Quenes Dominions or Countrees, shall from hensfoorthe be utterly voyde and of none effecte.

THE END

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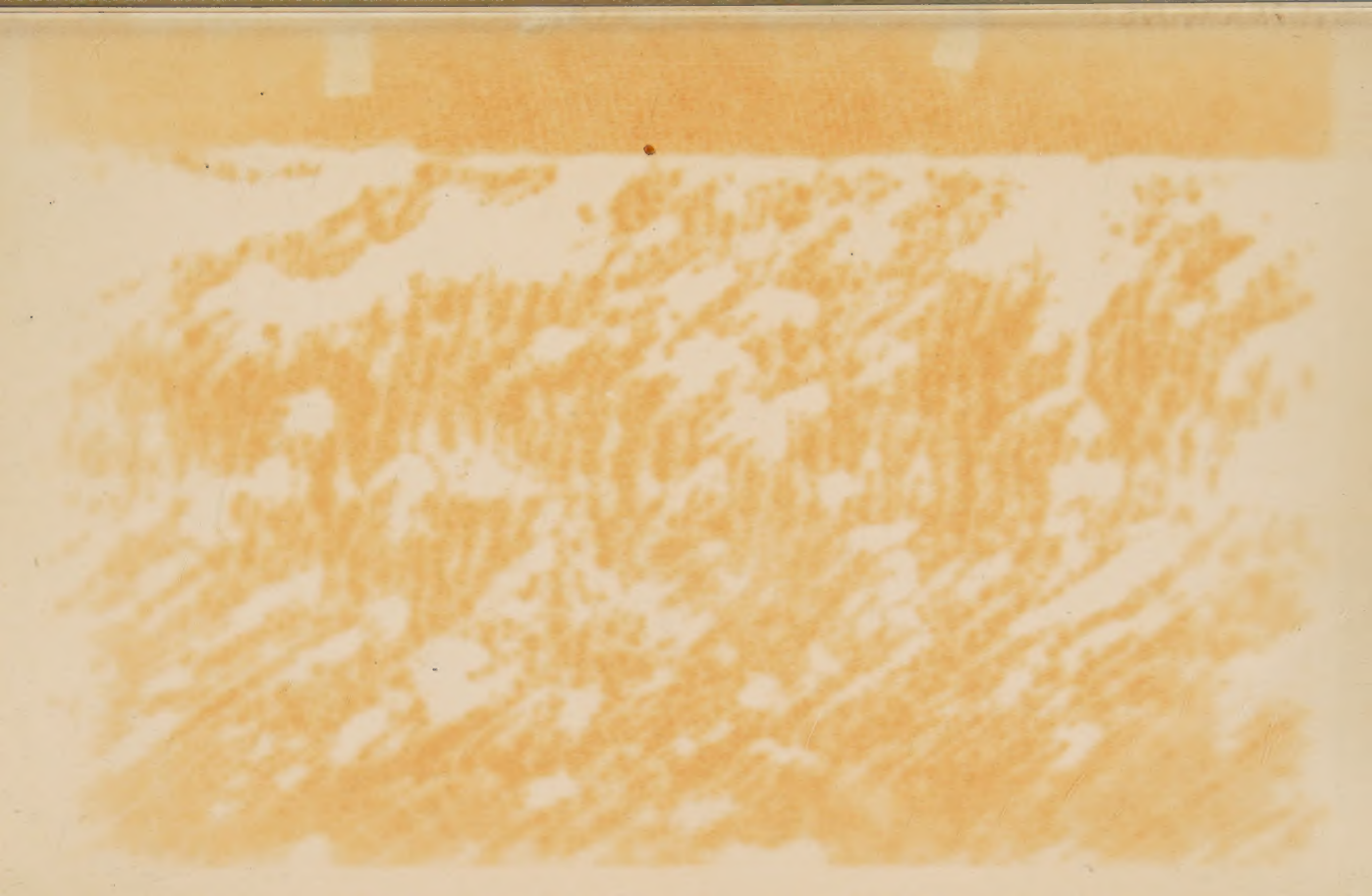
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